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**From metonymy to metaphor:
A diachronic corpus-based comparison of metaphorical
meanings of English and Chinese colour terms**

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Cross-cultural comparisons of metaphors mostly take the form of synchronic research (e.g. Kövecses 2005). However, diachronic research contributes not only to revealing cultural factors of one language (e.g. Gevaert 1995) but also to investigating universal trends (e.g. Trim 2014). Colour metaphors are appropriate subjects to investigate the interplay of similar conceptualisation (even potentially universal trends) and cultural specificity because of the common metonymic relationships to the universal natural world and culture-specific symbolism of colours. This thesis compares English and Chinese colour metaphors and analyses the similarities and differences in the metaphorical conceptualisation and ongoing development of metaphorical expression. It investigates five pairs of English and Chinese colour terms with the same etymological metonymies (*green, orange, rose/rosy, purple, gold(en)* and their Chinese counterparts *qing/lv, cheng(se)/juse, meiguise, zi, jin(se)*), and three pairs with different etymological metonymies (*pink, peach(y), beige* and their Chinese counterparts *fen(hong)(se), tao(hua)se, mise*), in order to investigate the interaction between metonymy and metaphor in the development of both English and Chinese colour metaphors.

This thesis uses a corpus-based method of collecting metaphorical senses of colour terms from historical corpora in four periods of English and Chinese respectively, to reveal and compare the routes taken during the course of their metaphorical development. The corpora are supplemented by other resources – dictionaries, the Historical Thesaurus of English, and Mapping Metaphor with the Historical Thesaurus.

The results show that colour metaphors develop from connotations of colour in a process that moves from metonymy to metaphor. The study suggests that the metaphorical conceptualisation of colour terms starts from an experiential scene that generates connotations associated with colour. The generation process has three main motivations: metonymic basis, cultural context and relationship with other colours. Then, the connotations are generalised to a distinct domain outside of the experiential scene and finally develop into metaphorical meanings. The similarities are motivated by the potentially universal patterns both in the generation process (which give rise to the same connotations of the same metonymic bases) and in the generalisation process (which trigger the shared generic conceptualisations of metaphorical mappings). The potentially universal pattern in colour metaphors also reveals another kind of potentially universal

human experience relating to the environment other than embodiment as the experiential bases of potential universal metaphors. The differences are driven by culturally motivated patterns in the generation process and generalisation process, which give rise to culturally specific connotations and metaphorical mappings.

Keywords: colour metaphors, English and Chinese comparison, colour terms, metonymy, metaphor, diachronic method, corpus-based method

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Abbreviation List

A Thesaurus of Old English	TOE
Basic Colour Terms	BCTs
Conceptual Metaphor Theory	CMT
<i>Hanyu dacidian</i> (Chinese dictionary of the Chinese language)	<i>Dacidian</i>
Mapping Metaphor with the Historical Thesaurus of English	MM
Oxford English Dictionary	OED
The Historical Thesaurus of English	HTE
A Thesaurus of Old English	TOE
<i>Shuowen jiezi</i> (Explain and de-structure Chinese characters)	<i>Shuowen</i>
Similarity Theory	ST

Chapter 1 Introduction

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) proposed that most of the human conceptual system is structured in a metaphorical way; that is, metaphor is a conceptual process that allows us to use some directly understood concepts to understand other concepts. They argued that these directly understood concepts are grounded in our direct physical experience within the broad context of cultures. Lakoff and Johnson's highly influential work gradually developed into a standard view of universal (or near-universal) conceptual metaphors motivated by universal elements of human experience. This view always faced the challenge of uncovering variation in metaphors in different cultural contexts. In subsequent studies (e.g. Kövecses 1995, Yu 1995), embodied human experiences (physiological aspects) are often regarded as the main sources of the universality of metaphors, such as the emotion metaphor ANGER IS HEAT, but other kinds of human experiences are largely ignored. Colour metaphors (i.e. with colour as the source domain) are experientially based on the natural environment (e.g., fire, plants, sky), which can be as universal as embodied experiences. On the other hand, the colour term itself (its literal meaning) and its figurative meanings are deeply rooted in the culture. Thus, studying colour metaphors also contributes to investigating the role of culture in metaphorical conceptualisation. In the present study, colour metaphors refer to metaphors with a colour as the source domain, and do not include metaphors with the colour as the target domain.

Compared to the ever-present debate between universality (e.g. Berlin and Kay 1991) and linguistic relativity (e.g. Roberson et al. 2005) of the literal meanings of colour terms, there are limited comparative cross-language studies of the metaphorical meanings of colour terms. Chinese scholars have contributed to the comparative studies of colour metaphors in English and Chinese from a synchronic perspective. However, the historical or diachronic perspective that is rarely adopted still needs to be investigated because it can both bring evidence to explore the cognition process of metaphors and help uncover the critical role that cultural experience can play (e.g. Sweetser 1990; Geeraerts and Grondelaers 1995). The earlier historical research relied on manually collecting data or using historical corpora that were usually small in size. This situation has been changed for English by the Historical Thesaurus of English and the Mapping Metaphor with the Historical Thesaurus resource, which allow us to systematically investigate the development of metaphors in English.

The Historical Thesaurus of English (HTE) comprehensively analyses English words in the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) and A Thesaurus of Old English (TOE). It displays the words and their recorded dates in a hierarchical semantic framework. This framework makes it possible to find the metaphorical connections between different semantic categories. Using the HTE as its source data, the Mapping Metaphor with the Historical Thesaurus project created a Metaphor Map of English and a Metaphor Map of Old English (these two maps are collectively referred to here as MM). HTE and MM together provide historical metaphor research with rich resources and helpful guides, functioning in ways akin to a diachronic metaphor dictionary.

The present research compares the development of figurative expressions of colour terms in English and Chinese and explores the interaction of potentially universal conceptualisation (which is called the potentially universal pattern as a factor in metaphorical development in this thesis) and cultural variation (which is called the culturally motivated pattern) in conceptual colour metaphors. It chooses the English colour terms *green*, *orange*, *rose/rosy*, *purple*, *gold(en)*, *pink*, *peach(y)*, and *beige*, and their Chinese counterparts *qing/lv*, *cheng(se)/juse*, *meiguise*, *zi*, *jin(se)*, *fen(hong)(se)*, *tao(hua)se* and *mise*. All these colour terms have prototypes of plants, minerals/pigments and metals in the real world in both English and Chinese. The prototypes give clues to the human experience of the etymological metonymy of the colour terms, which could be the motivations for their metaphorical expression.

This study takes a diachronic approach to investigate the development of the metaphorical meanings of colour terms. Whereas a synchronic perspective offers a snapshot of the stages reached at a given point on the journey towards metaphoricity, diachronic research reveals the routes taken during the course of that journey and thus contributes to exploring the motivations and the factors that influence the similarities and differences between English and Chinese colour metaphors. The diachronic investigation is based on dictionaries, HTE, MM and historical corpora. While HTE and MM enable quick searches for diachronic development of metaphorical conceptualisation, evidence of language use in context is still needed, and this is what historical corpora can offer. Compared to assuming the reason for the similarities and differences based on introspection, historical corpus data provide a more reliable basis for considering the motivations of metaphors. What is more, the corpora can provide contextual data to investigate the contributions of cultural factors.

The present thesis consists of nine chapters in total. This Chapter introduces the study, including the broad context for this research and the outline of the thesis structure. Chapter 2 presents a literature review concerning the previous research on conceptual metaphor and metonymy, colour semantics and colour metaphors in English, Chinese and their comparison. The research questions of this thesis are shown at the end of this chapter. Chapter 3 sets out the methodology adopted here. The investigation of colour terms starts from three pairs of colour terms that share similar etymological metonymies from plants: *green – qing/lv*, *orange – cheng(se)/juse* and *rose/rosy – meiguise*. Considering the extensive range of metaphorical developments of *green – qing/lv*, it is discussed in Chapter 4, and *orange – cheng(se)/juse* and *rose/rosy – meiguise* are presented in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 contains two pairs of colour terms that share the same etymological metonymies from pigments and metals: *purple – zi* and *gold(en) – jin(se)*. Chapter 7 shows three pairs of colour terms that have different etymological metonymies in each language: *pink – fen(hong)(se)*, *peach(y) – tao(hua)se* and *beige – mise*. Specifically, the investigation includes each colour term's metaphorical meanings in different historical periods, the development and motivations of these metaphorical meanings, and a comparison between English and Chinese. Chapter 8 is a general discussion chapter, in which the research questions are addressed based on the findings. Chapter 9 is a concluding chapter that illustrates the contributions and the limitations of the project and presents suggestions for future work.

Chapter 2 Literature review

This chapter establishes the theoretical background of colour metaphors in terms of conceptual metaphor, colour semantics and colour metaphors. Section 2.1 provides the theoretical frame of conceptual metaphor theory for studying colour metaphors. 2.2 concerns colour semantics because it is necessary to address the literal meanings of colour terms and their metonymic bases before comparing English and Chinese colour metaphors. 2.3 investigates previous studies of colour metaphor in English and Chinese including comparisons between them, to highlight the achievements and paucity of relevant research.

2.1 Conceptual metaphor

This section begins with conceptual metaphor theory in 2.1.1, emphasising the important concepts of experiential motivation, domains and frames, similarity theory and categorisation into correlation metaphors and resemblance metaphors. 2.1.2 argues for an interaction between metonymy and metaphor, aiming to explain metonymy-based metaphors. 2.1.3 explores the universality and cultural variation of metaphors, which give insight into the reasons for the similarities and differences between English and Chinese colour metaphors.

2.1.1 Conceptual metaphor theory

Conceptual metaphors, first intensively explored by Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By* in 1980, changed the focus of metaphor research from linguistic expressions to cognitive processes governing linguistic expressions and subsequently developed into Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claim that metaphor is a conceptual process, which is not arbitrary but systematic and grounded in our experience. Metaphor is a conceptual process that allows us to use one domain of experience to understand another. This shows directionality of metaphor: abstract concepts are conceptualised in terms of concrete concepts (1980: 112, 115). Thus, Lakoff (1987: 276) describes conceptual metaphors as: ‘Each metaphor has a source domain, a target domain and a source-to-target mapping’.

2.1.1.1 Experiential motivation of metaphors

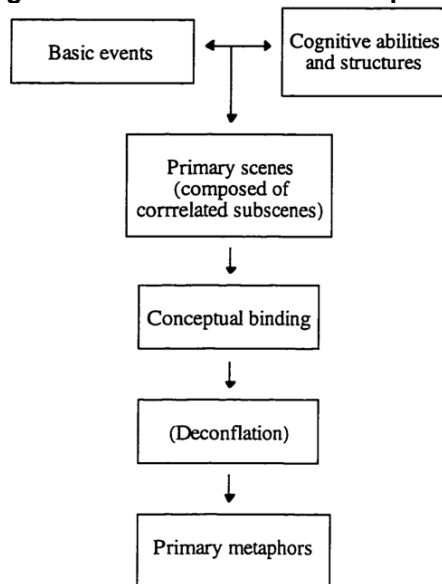
According to Lakoff and Johnson, metaphor is motivated and comprehended through its experiential grounding. Lakoff and Johnson analyse the experiential bases of different

kinds of metaphors, such as ‘MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN’ (Lakoff 1987: 251), and ‘ARGUMENT IS WAR’ (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 77–82). By investigating the experience, it is seen that some domains of experience are basic and are used to understand others. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 117) illustrate that these kinds of experiences are a production of human nature:

Our bodies (perceptual and motor apparatus, mental capacities)
 Our interactions with our physical environment (moving, manipulating objects, eating, etc.)
 Our interactions with other people within our culture (in terms of social, political, economic, and religious institutions)

As Lakoff and Johnson suggest, some dimensions of the experience may be universal while others are culturally specific. The universal elements of experience are likely to exist in sensorimotor domains which may be basic and universal in human cognition. Investigating (near) universal metaphors is a continuing concern within CMT, among which the theory of primary metaphor plays an important role. Grady (1997) proposes the theory of primary metaphor and addresses the link between experience and primary metaphors by designing the following model:

Figure 2.1 From basic events to primary metaphors (Grady 1997: 20)

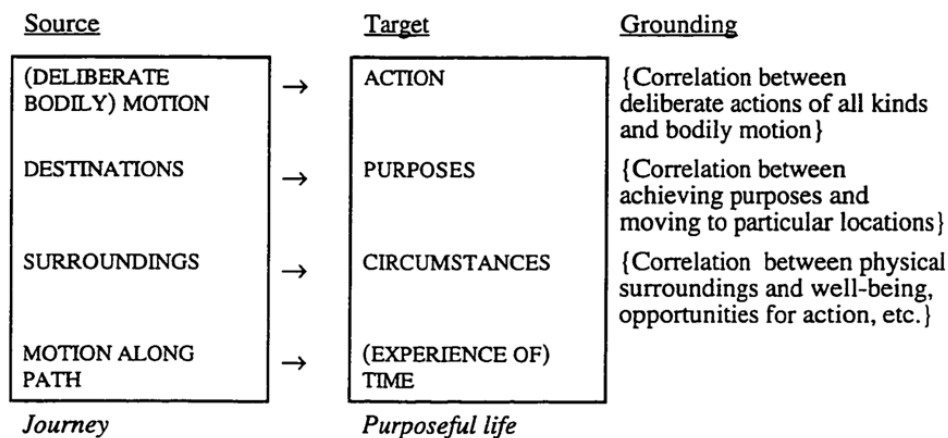


Primary scenes are subjective experiences of basic events (that is, certain events that occur repeatedly in our experience), characterised by tight correlations between different dimensions of experience, which give rise to conceptual bindings between concepts. The associated concepts may experience a stage called deconflation when the association between concepts is so tight that the distinction between them is conflated. For example,

children who experience the difficulty involved in lifting heavy things may form a single concept combining difficulty and heaviness. This is the conceptual binding. The next conceptual development would presumably be the deconflation of different aspects of such experience into distinct concepts. In some cases, the deconflation occurs before they are bound in cognitive structures, and thus they are conceptualised as distinct concepts. When the bond of different dimensions of experience in the primary scene, such as the difficulty involved in lifting heavy things, is extended to a broader correspondence between distinct concepts (DIFFICULTY and HEAVINESS), the distinct concepts function as primary source and target domain and primary metaphors (DIFFICULTY IS HEAVINESS) arise from primary scenes.

Grady's model shows how primary metaphors are based on primary scenes where basic experiences correlate distinct aspects of experience. Primary metaphors present a very low-level of conceptualisation of our experience, so they can be combined when they are compatible to give rise to compositional conceptual metaphors (complex metaphors). For example, LIFE IS A JOURNEY is composed as:

Figure 2.2 Composition of LIFE IS A JOURNEY (Grady 1997: 204)



Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 46) describe Grady's theory of primary metaphor and complex metaphor as follows:

All complex metaphors are "molecular," made up of "atomic" metaphorical parts called *primary metaphors*. Each primary metaphor has a minimal structure and arises naturally, automatically, and unconsciously through everyday experience by means of conflation, during which cross-domain associations are formed. Complex metaphors are formed by conceptual blending. Universal early experiences lead to universal conflations, which then develop into universal (or widespread) conventional conceptual metaphors. (1999: 46)

Cognitivists elaborate on explaining how conceptual metaphors arise from our experience and, specifically, how experience brings distinct domains into correlations with the power of prediction (the unidirectionality of conceptual metaphor) to illustrate that our experience is the grounding and motivation of metaphors. Lakoff (1987) and Grady (1997, 1999) also notice some metaphors have no experiential bases, which will be discussed in 2.1.1.4.

2.1.1.2 Domains and frames

The concept of a domain is essential in defining conceptual metaphors. Langacker (1987 147–150) describes domains as necessarily cognitive entities of mental experiences, representational spaces, concepts or conceptual complexes. A basic domain is a primitive representational field, and many cannot be fully reduced to another (e.g. the basic domain of three-dimensional space). A non-basic domain where a concept or conceptual complex functions as a domain for a higher-order concept is called an abstract domain. For example, the basic domain of three-dimensional space gives rise to the specification of [BODY], which constitutes an abstract domain for the characterisation of [ARM] (and [ARM] for [HAND]). Entities occupy multiple dimensions and establish a link between them. At a higher level of organisation, multiple domains can be linked to form a complex domain matrix. The distinction between dimensions and domains is ambiguous. In the case of taste sensation involving temperature, texture and chemically based specifications, it makes little difference whether they are regarded as different dimensions of a single multidimensional domain or as different domains constituting a complex matrix. Thus, the ambiguity of the limits of a domain remains.

The concept of ‘frame’ was introduced to linguistics by Fillmore (1982, 1985), who refers to frame semantics as a system of related concepts whereby in order to understand any one concept, interpreters have to understand the whole structure it fits into, and any one of them will evoke the other parts in the structure. Some cognitive linguists use the term to analyse the mapping aspects of the domains (e.g. Croft and Cruse 2004, Sullivan 2013). Dancygier and Sweetser (2014) note that frames are useful for identifying what aspects of domains are involved in metaphorical mapping because we know the structures of the frames, whereas ‘a domain is simply a term for a connected piece of conceptual structure, of any kind’ (2014: 19). The concepts of domain and frame are crucial in discussing demarcation and interaction of metaphors, as well as metonymy-based metaphor, which is discussed in 2.1.2.

2.1.1.3 Similarity theory

In the longstanding view of defining metaphors, similarity is their very nature. As Lakoff (2012[1993]) illustrates, the classic theory that metaphor is defined as a linguistic expression being creatively used to express a similar concept has taken so much for granted over centuries (2012[1993]: 203). Aristotle, who is often considered to be the first to comment on the nature of metaphor, discusses metaphor in his *Poetics*. His understanding of metaphors is interpreted as involving implicit comparisons based on similarity, like analogy (Ortony 1993, Katz 1998). Following the Aristotelian tradition, modern Similarity Theory (ST) that regards metaphors as similarity-based analogies is developed. For example, Anderson's (1964) definition of metaphor is 'the application of a word or expression that properly belongs to one context to express meaning in a different context because of some real or implied similarity in the referents involved' (1964: 53).

In the twentieth century, many psychologists were interested in exploring the basis of similarity, that is the centrality of metaphor according to ST, using psychological approaches (Osgood 1953; Tversky 1977; MacCormac 1985; Black 1993; Cohen 1993). For instance, Johnson and Malgady (1979: 251) claim that the meaning of a word can be regarded as a set of feature elements (e.g. elementary cognitive characteristics, features, attributes, properties). They thus propose that the degree of similarity between two words depends on the shared feature elements. In addition, psychologists apply ST to developmental research on children's metaphor comprehension. For example, Gardner et al. (1975) assess children's capacity for 'metaphoric links' based on the view that the 'metaphoric' skill is perceiving similarity between apparently dissimilar domains. Winner (1979) claims that '[i]t should be stressed that the link between the two terms of a metaphor must always be some kind of SIMILARITY, even if it is the kind of similarity that obtains between oppositions' (1979: 471).

2.1.1.4 Correlation metaphors and resemblance metaphors

Cognitive linguists use experiential motivation as a robust explanation for how the mappings occur between concepts as against the ST of metaphors (e.g. Lakoff and Turner 1989: 198; Grady 1997: 5; Taylor 2002[1995]: 341). Since CMT was proposed, ST has been strongly criticised because it suggests that all metaphors are motivated by similarity, which ignores metaphors where the mappings cannot be explained by similarity. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) indicate, for example, that it is hard to find the similarity between UP and HAPPINESS, MIND and BRITTLE OBJECT, IDEAS and FOOD. They clarify that

correspondences in our experience need not be based on any similarity (1980: 113). In other words, there is often no objective similarity between the source and target concepts. For the metaphor SEEING IS KNOWING, similarity (e.g. both are processes of receiving information) is insufficient to associate the concepts by their inherent features. Grady's proposal of primary metaphors arising from primary scenes (1997), which is explained in 2.1.1.1, explains the experiential basis as a motivation for primary metaphors for which similarity cannot be sufficient. This process, though limited to the physical world, provides a broad sense that the mapping between concepts can be based on correlation without similarity.

However, there is another type of metaphor that does not have the experiential basis and direction from source to target domain. Lakoff (1987) refers to these metaphors as image metaphors. Different from conceptual metaphor, 'there is another major type of metaphor that maps conventional mental images onto other conventional mental images by virtue of their internal structure' (Lakoff 1987: 219). Lakoff (1987) lists an example of 'my wife's waist is an hourglass'. In this example, both images of hourglass and waist are structured in a general shape of the same sort.

Similarly, Grady (1997, 1999) notices that there is a type of metaphor that does not arise from correlations in experience. Grady distinguishes two types of metaphors regarding different motivations. Firstly, Grady claims that the motivation of primary metaphors is experiential correlation (1999: 84–87). He then indicates that there is another type of metaphor having no experiential basis. Grady proposes a 'resemblance hypothesis' to explain the motivation of these metaphors and then compares correlation metaphors and resemblance metaphors. The mappings between the two concepts of correlation metaphors are motivated by experiential correlation at a fundamental level (e.g. MORE IS UP), while the mappings of resemblance metaphors are motivated by similarities (e.g. 'Achilles is a lion' is motivated by the similarity of Achilles and lion, which is the shared attribute of courage).

As mentioned in 2.1.1.1, the motivation of primary metaphors holds basic and very low-level metaphorical correspondences which refer to fundamental cognitive experience. Compositional (complex) metaphors are composed of primary metaphors at a low level of conceptualisation (Grady 1997: 200–218). Grady (1997, 1999) considers primary metaphors and complex metaphors whose experiential motivations are found at a more

primary level as correlation metaphors, which are different from resemblance metaphors whose metaphorical associations are based on the perception of shared features.

When analysing the experiential correlations of conceptual metaphors, it is reasonable to consider the correlations to be metonymic relationships. Grady (1999: 85) notes that the motivation of experiential correlations sounds strikingly like metonymic relationships between aspects of experience. Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) demonstrate that conceptual metaphor and metonymy are used in understanding anger, motivated by physiology. However, it becomes controversial if metonymy is put in a more fundamental position: do correlation metaphors derive from metonymies and have metonymical bases?

Some scholars argue that correlation metaphors are independent of metonymies. For example, Grady (2005) claims that not all correlations in experience lead to metaphorical and metonymical associations and then proposes that only correlations that meet three conditions lead to metaphorical associations. The first condition is sensory and non-sensory. One of the correlated concepts refers to a basic dimension of sensory experience, which becomes the source concept (e.g. heaviness). The other concept refers to equally fundamental element of experience but not sensory experience, which becomes the target domain (e.g. effortfulness). The second condition is that '[t]he two correlated concepts must be construable as having the same highly schematic structure' (2005: 1606). The third condition is that the two correlated concepts must have covariation. For instance, increased heaviness means increased difficulty. Grady's discrimination of correlations leading to metonymy and correlations leading to metaphor stands against the view that all correlations as the motivation for metaphors are metonymic relationships. In contrast, some scholars claim that correlation metaphors are metonymy-based. Radden (2002) claims that correlation is a type of metonymic relationship that may give rise to metaphors, and thus 'correlation underlies many metaphors as their metonymic basis' (2002: 9). Similarly, Kövecses (2013) suggests that correlation metaphors derive from metonymies and proposes that 'correlation-based metaphors emerge from frame-like mental representations through a metonymic stage' (2013: 86).

The typology of correlation metaphors and resemblance metaphors shows that the motivations of metaphors can be correlations or shared features. The correspondences in our experience as the motivation of metaphorical mappings need not be any similarity but can also be correlations in our experience, especially for primary metaphors. Some scholars regard correlation metaphors as metonymy-based metaphors. That is, the

motivation of correlation is a sort of metonymy. The present thesis accepts the tenet that correlation is a fundamentally metonymic relationship, so the next section 2.1.2 continues to set out metonymy-based metaphors by discussing the demarcation and the interaction of metonymy.

2.1.2 Conceptual metaphor and metonymy

Since colour metaphors are largely metonymy-based metaphors as many studies show (e.g. Hamilton 2016; Filipović Kovačević 2019; Philip 2006) and this study focuses on the development of the metaphors, it is necessary to discuss the distinction and interaction between metonymy and metaphor in metaphor development, in order to illustrate the different stages of development (i.e. when metonymy shows the potential of developing metaphor, when metonymy and metaphor coexist and when metaphor takes over from metonymy). In this section, 2.1.2.1 discusses the demarcation and interaction of metonymy and metaphor to investigate whether metaphor could arise from metonymy. 2.1.2.2 focuses on the process from metonymy to metaphor to establish when metaphors take over from metonymy. 2.1.2.3 explores how metonymic metaphor is.

2.1.2.1 Demarcation and interaction of metonymy and metaphor

Metaphor and metonymy are both conceptual in nature. The distinction between metaphor and metonymy is generally accepted, with metaphor being considered interdomain and metonymy being intradomain. That is, metaphor involves two conceptual domains, while metonymy involves only one domain (Lakoff and Turner 1989; Taylor 2002[1995]). Different from the standard definitions of metaphors and metonymies, Croft (1993) uses the concept of a domain matrix (proposed by Langacker 1987) to emphasise the complex domain structure. Thus, metaphor consists of a mapping of two domains that do not form a domain matrix for the concepts involved, and metonymy is a metonymic mapping that occurs within a single domain matrix, not across domains or domain matrices (Croft 1993: 345–348). This generalised definition allows metonymy to occur across domains within a domain matrix. For example, in the sentence ‘Time took over Sunset magazine, and it’s gone downhill ever since’ (Croft 1993: 348, example (20)), the metonymy shifts from the domain of a magazine to the domain of a publication, but these two domains are within a single domain matrix that possesses a unity created by experience. That is, in our experience, a magazine is a salient element of its publication. In the aspect of the role of domains, Croft claims that metaphor is domain mapping and metonymy is domain highlighting.

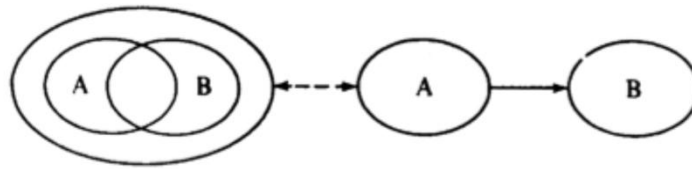
Although the definitions of metaphors and metonymies seem to enable us to distinguish the two, the demarcation of metonymy and metaphor is problematized by the ambiguity concerning the limits of a domain (see 2.1.1.2). A great many cases that contain the interplay of metaphor and metonymy show that it is difficult to distinguish metonymy and metaphor. Typically, the metaphors containing metonymic relationships show the fuzzy space between metonymy and metaphor. The present study specifically focuses on this kind of metonymy-based metaphors that develop from metonymy to metaphor, which means that the interaction between metonymy and metaphor needs to be clarified. Some scholars treat metonymy and metaphor as two poles of a continuum including intermediate stages. Before Lakoff and Johnson's work (1980) proposed that metaphor and metonymy are conceptual processes, Jakobson (2002[1956]) had regarded metaphor and metonymy as two poles of humans structuring their behaviours, that are linked to the syntagmatic and paradigmatic potential of language.

Dirven (2002[1993]) applies Jakobson's idea that metaphors and metonymies are two poles and fills in the intermediate stages between these poles. Dirven depicts the metonymy-metaphor continuum, which is divided into linear metonymy, conjunctive metonymy, inclusive metonymy and metaphor. The various types of metonymy and metaphor have different conceptual closeness and distance. The lowest metonymicity is linear metonymy. In the example 'different parts of *the country* don't necessarily mean the same thing when they use the same word' (2002[1993]: 100, formatting my own), the linear metonymy has little or no conceptual distance since there is little or no complexity in the conceptual shift (we only move from the referential mass 'the country' to another referential mass 'the inhabitants'). In conjunctive metonymy (especially with nouns denoting both a building and institution), the conceptual shift is more complex, and there is more conceptual distance because institutions such as schools contain more complex structures and conjunctive metonymy includes all the components (teachers, pupils, activities, rooms, buildings etc.). Conjunctive metonymy may have more conceptual distance. In the example 'The Crown has not withheld its assent' (2002[1993]: 93), the conceptual distance between the abstract concepts of monarchy and the concrete subject is great. Dirven discusses a case of inclusive metonymy, which is 'a good head' denoting intelligence. The conceptual distance is stretched between the physical concept and the abstract concept. An example of metaphor is 'Kriek-Lambik is not just drinking, it is eating and drinking together' (2002[1993]: 89). This sentence talks about drinking beer. The expression of eating is a figurative use because some features of eating (nutritious quality of food and the nourishing effect) are mapped onto drinking beer. In this metaphor, the conceptual distance

between eating and drinking is great. Dirven claims that metaphor and metonymy have the same underlying principle of the interplay of conceptual distance and closeness. Conceptual distance accounts for defining different degrees of metonymicity in metonymies and the distinction between metonymy and metaphor. This seems to allow the process from metonymy to metaphor in the way the conceptual link between concepts disappears and the distance between the concepts increases. Dirven depicts the transition between metonymy to metaphor, which is called ‘post-metonymy’ (2002[1993]: 107, Figure 6), and provides an example ‘knock somebody for (being a Beatles fan)’ in the sense of criticism (2002[1993]: 109). He also calls it a ‘non-transparent metaphor’ because it has lost the link with *knock*’s literal image. The descriptions of ‘post-metonymy’ and ‘non-transparent metaphor’ for the example indicate the ambiguity of metonymy and metaphor, but it is not explained as a developing metaphor. Thus, Dirven’s research indicates that figurative expressions in the continuum have different degrees of metonymicity and metaphoricity but it is not essentially the discussion about whether metaphor derives from metonymy by decreasing metonymicity.

Many scholars accept the continuum of metonymy and metaphor, and study the intermediate stages between the two poles, such as metonymy-based metaphor. Goossens (1990) proposes a term *metaphtonymy* to refer to intertwined metonymy and metaphor. He suggests *metaphtonymy* has two basic types. Integrated *metaphtonymy* refers to combined metonymy and metaphor, and cumulative *metaphtonymy* implies a metaphor is derived from metonymy or vice versa. The type called *metaphor from metonymy* is the cumulative *metaphtonymy*. *Metaphor from metonymy* has metaphorical interpretation while the conceptual link with the metonymy is still present. The cases often have double possibility (metaphor from metonymy or metonymy only), and the metonymic or metaphoric interpretation remains undecided. Goossens uses an instance: “‘oh dear,’ she giggled, ‘I’d quite forgotten’”, in which the metonymical interpretation ‘she said this while giggling’ and the metaphorical interpretation ‘she said this as if giggling’ are both valid and the latter metaphorical interpretation still contains the conceptual link of the metonymic reading. Goossens visualises metaphor from metonymy as:

Figure 2.3 Metaphor from metonymy (Goossens 1990: 329)



As Figure 2.3 shows, the metaphorical reading is produced when two correlated domains in the same domain matrix generalise out of the matrix and become two mapping domains, while the conceptual link of the metonymic reading is still contained. The example of ‘giggle’ also shows the process of the metaphorical reading that derives from the metonymic basis. It is assumed that if the conceptual link with the metonymy is nonobvious, the metaphoricity could increase.

Metaphor from metonymy implies the source domain and the target domain are discrete, ‘but that the perception of ‘similarity’ is established on the basis of our awareness that A and B are often ‘contiguous’ within the same domain’ (Goossens 1990: 337). This contiguity is conceptualised on an experiential basis. *Metaphor from metonymy*, which is between pure metaphor and pure metonymy, is about two discrete domains but the ‘contiguity’ of metonymy interpenetrates. Goossens’s definition of metaphor from metonymy seems to suggest that contiguity is the key to inclining to the pole of metonymy in the continuum (A and B are fused in the single scene) and the distance between concepts is the key to inclining to the pole of metaphor in the continuum (A and B are separate domains). This is also implied by the explanation of the pure metaphors. Goossens regards ‘blow one’s own trumpet’ as a pure metaphor since there is no or only a very weak metonymic basis. Therefore, the separating distance of concepts determines the metaphoricity and the conceptual link with metonymy determines the metonymicity. Nevertheless, Goossens’s proposal implies that the mapping of two domains of metaphor can derive from the correlation.

Riemer (2002) disagrees with Goossens’s proposal of *metaphonymy* but proposes two new categories *hypermetonymy* and *hypermetaphor*. Goossens (1990) regards *metaphor from metonymy* as metaphor with a clear conceptual link with metonymic reading. For example, Riemer argues that in the example ‘beat one’s breast’ (Goossens 1990: 332), there is no resemblance between the source domain and the target domain. The only link between the vehicle and target is the original metonymic relationship occurring from the fact that the action often accompanies confession. When this use is generalised and conventionalised in contexts where confession is unaccompanied by beating the breast, the metonymy is not

obvious. Based on the view that metaphor is the mapping between domains, Riemer claims that these concepts with single metonymic correlation are neither full metonymy nor metaphor and regards them as *hypermetonymies*. The divergence of opinion between Goossens and Riemer on the indeterminate metonymy and metaphor is due to their different opinions on the definition of metaphor. According to Goossens, the correlation of the source domain and target domain within a domain matrix becomes the metaphorical mapping when they are generalised from the domain matrix. On the contrary, Riemer claims that without the similarity between the two domains, the remaining correlation between them after generalisation can only be regarded as an extended metonymy. Therefore, the divergence is still about the nature of metaphor and the nature of metonymy. Different from Goossens, Riemer's proposal rejects the possibility that correlated concepts in metonymy can develop into two different domains that have metaphorical mapping, which also rejects the metaphors driven by metonymies. Contrary to Riemer's claim, this thesis holds the view that metaphor is not only motivated by similarity but also by correlation, and thus metaphors can derive from metonymy, which is discussed in 2.1.2.2.

This study uses the concept of continuum to depict the development from metonymy to metaphor, which is different from the continuum of Dirven. Dirven lists linear metonymy, conjunctive metonymy, inclusive metonymy and metaphor to show different categories with different metonymicity and metaphoricity in his continuum. Differently, this study aims to propose a one-direction-continuum from metonymy to metaphor in order to show the developing process that takes a colour metaphor from metonymy to metaphor. This study concerns the degree of metaphoricity in this continuum, which addresses to what extent a metaphor is fully developed from metonymy. Although Dirven's proposal of a continuum between metonymy and metaphor is not initially used to explain metonymy-driven metaphor (which is what this study aims to explore), it seems to imply that metaphor could develop from metonymy by increasing conceptual distance, which is adopted in this study. Goossens's proposal of *metaphor from metonymy* is relevant to the continuum that this study aims to propose to some extent. It gives some insights that (1) the transitional stages of the continuum from metonymy to metaphor could have two valid interpretations: metaphor-from-metonymy interpretation and metonymy interpretation, and (2) the remaining of the conceptual link with metonymic basis, like *metaphor from metonymy*, indicates a lower metaphoricity than pure metaphor.

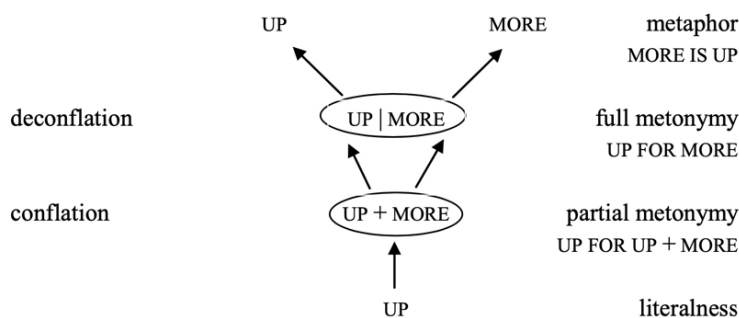
The proposal of intermediate stages sidesteps the distinction between metonymy and metaphor. As for analysing and classifying different non-literal expressions, it is reasonable

to say that indeterminate metonymy and metaphor are neither pure metonymy nor pure metaphor but in a position on the continuum between the two poles of metonymy and metaphor. According to Dirven's and Goossens's studies, the conceptual distance between concepts is important to position in the continuum of metonymy to metaphor. Increased distance between the concepts and less metonymic basis leads to more metaphoricity. However, when we analyse the process from metonymy to metaphor for metonymy-based metaphors, the issue of when the metaphor completely derives from metonymy remains. The next section will look at this question.

2.1.2.2 From metonymy to metaphor

Radden (2002) focuses on metonymy-based metaphors and proposes the process from metonymy to metaphor. Radden adapts Grady's model 'from basic events to primary metaphors' to show the four stages on the literalness-metonymy-metaphor continuum, using MORE IS UP as an example, as Figure 2.4 shows:

Figure 2.4 From literalness to metaphor: UP and MORE (Radden 2002: 5)



The stage of conflation applies to the primary scene (Grady 1997) where UP and MORE are associated, such as the level of liquids going up when more water is put in the bottle. In this stage, the relationship between UP and MORE is partial metonymy (UP FOR UP + MORE). In the deconflation stage, the correlated UP and MORE are seen as two different concepts but are united in the same domain. The relationship between UP and MORE is metonymic (UP FOR MORE). At a further stage of development, UP and MORE may be seen as two different conceptual domains, and thus the relationship may become metaphorical. Metaphors that derive from primary scenes are called primary metaphors, according to Grady. Radden refers to these metaphors as metonymy-based metaphors since the immediate basis is metonymic. As Radden suggests, the crucial point of the metaphor derived from metonymy is how the concepts from one domain or frame are spaced out and are seen as belonging to two distinct domains or frames.

Based on Grady's (1999) classification of resemblance metaphors and correlation metaphors, Kövecses (2013) argues that correlation metaphors are all metonymy-based while resemblance metaphors have nothing to do with metonymy. Kövecses explains that metonymically related elements lead to metaphors 'when one of the elements of a frame-like mental structure is generalised (schematised) to a concept that lies outside the initial frame in a different part of the conceptual system' (2013: 86). He proposes that the conceptual system is hierarchy-organised and consists of frame-based concepts, and the cognitive operations of generalisation and specialisation are metaphorical and metonymic conceptualisation. Kövecses then explains how correlation metaphors emerge from frames through a metonymic stage using examples such as SADNESS IS DOWN (2013: 79). In the metaphor SADNESS IS DOWN, the frame of sadness includes downward bodily orientation such as drooping body posture, mouth turned down, based on the behavioural response to the emotion sadness. The metonymy inside the frame is DOWNWARD BODILY ORIENTATION FOR SADNESS. Downward bodily orientation can be generalised to the concept of DOWN which is a spatial concept characterised by downward spatial orientation. The spatial concept of DOWN is divorced and distinct from the actual downward bodily response inside the SADNESS frame. Thus, the concept of DOWN can be seen as the source domain, whereas SADNESS is the target domain in the conceptual metaphor SADNESS IS DOWN.

The proposals of Radden (2002) and Kövecses (2013) offer significant insights for the continuum from metonymy to metaphor this study aims to establish. The continuum of Radden's study can be regarded as a continuum from metonymy to metaphor (without the stage of literalness): the pole of the metonymy is the conflation stage (partial metonymy, UP FOR UP + MORE), the intermediate stage is the deconflation stage (full metonymy, UP FOR MORE), and the pole of the metaphor is the final metaphor MORE IS UP. In other words, in the continuum from the most metonymicity to the most metaphoricity, Stage I is where the UP and MORE are associated in the primary scene. Stage II is the still in the primary scene but UP and MORE are seen as two distinct concepts. Stage III is the further development where UP and MORE are in the two distinct source and target domains. Kövecses's proposal can be regarded as a continuum from metonymy to metaphor with two stages. Stage I is metonymic associations in the same frame (for the metaphor SADNESS IS DOWN, the metonymy inside the frame is DOWNWARD BODILY ORIENTATION FOR SADNESS). Stage II is the generalisation process to metaphor (downward bodily orientation can be generalised to the concept of DOWN which is distinct from the actual downward bodily response inside the SADNESS frame). This study proposes the continuum from metonymy to metaphor for

colour metaphor in 8.1, and the similarities and differences between it and proposals of Radden and Kövecses will be discussed.

Although Radden and Kövecses do not use conceptual distance to explain the increasing metaphoricity in the metaphor development of metonymy-based metaphor, deconflation or generalisation is in fact the process of stretching the conceptual distance, which changes the two concepts from being intradomain to interdomain. The notion of conceptual distance is useful to explain the increasing metaphoricity in the metaphor development of colour terms because the conceptual distance with the metonymic basis often indicates the metaphoricity of the colour metaphor. This will be discussed in 3.2.3.

According to Radden (2002) and Kövecses (2013), it is shown that the correlated elements in the experiential scene develop into the target domain and the source domain, and the correlation is described in the frame/experiential scene of one element that will become the source domain or the target domain in a description rooted in concrete and everyday details. Radden explains the correlation between UP and MORE in the conflation stage by depicting the experiences showing that there is an element correlated with our experience regarding UPNESS, such as the level of water going up when there is more water in a container. Kövecses explains the correlation between SADNESS and DOWN by illustrating the frame of SADNESS, of which the element of downwardness (which becomes the source domain) is correlated with sadness (which becomes the target domain). He also explains the correlation between KNOWING IS SEEING by illustrating the frame of SEEING, of which the element of knowing (target domain) is correlated with seeing (source domain). It shows that the experiential scene could be of source domain or target domain. In the experiential scene of element A, there is another element B co-occurs with, so the speaker uses B to describe A or use A to describe B. Radden and Kövecses analyse the experiential scene of the metaphors when both the source and target domain are clear. In this study, the prerequisite is that the colour terms are the source domains and the target domains (i.e. metaphorical meanings of colour terms) are what this thesis aim to collect. It is assumed that in the experiential scene relating to colour, there is an element correlated with colour and it develops into the target domain while the colour term becomes the source domain.

In order to clarify the element correlated with the colour in the experiential scene, this thesis uses the notion of *connotation* to refer to the element, which emphasises it is generated in the experiential scene relating to colour and it is metonymically associated with the colour. Löbner (2013) defines connotations as:

If an expression has descriptive meaning, any mention of it will activate not only the concept for its potential referents but together with it a host of further associations. Among the associations, some are conventional. They are called connotations and often considered to be something like a secondary meaning in addition to the primary lexical meaning (2013: 49).

Löbner demonstrates that often the connotations of word change when the meaning of the word remains the same using an example of *computer* that had the connotations of dangerous super-intelligent machines since 1960s and these has changed dramatically into the connotations of convenient and intelligent tool of everyday life in the last fifty years. Therefore, the connotations are connected not to the word but rather to the actual denotation (2013: 50). Löbner's illustration of the change of the connotations shows the pragmatic effects of connotations. Allan (2007) emphasises the pragmatic effects of connotations and defines them as:

The connotations of a language expression are pragmatic effects that arise from encyclopaedic knowledge about its denotation (or reference) and also from experiences, beliefs, and prejudices about the contexts in which the expression is typically used (2007: 1047).

After proposing the definition of connotations with the focus on their pragmatic effects, Allan (2009) investigates the connotations of English colour terms with a special focus on their figurative uses. For instance, Allan mentions that *green* has the connotations of political movements which focus on the environmentalism, loss of virginity or a romp in the hay, jealousy, immaturity etc. He explains these connotations by demonstrating the denotations of living leaves and unripe fruits, the cultural contexts (e.g. a girl had her clothing stained green when rolled on the grass with a man; white people may appear green through biliousness, fear, anger or envy) and he concludes that most metaphorical uses of *green* are dysphemistic (2009: 633). Allan seems to use the figurative uses to investigate the connotations of colour terms, which suggests the close relationship between connotations and metaphorical meanings of colour terms. Among the connotations of *green* above, this study finds that environmentalism, jealousy and immaturity are metaphorical use of *green*, yet the connotation of loss of virginity is not a fully developed metaphorical meaning. However, Allan's investigation of the connotations does not clarify the exact relationship between connotations and metaphorical meanings of colour terms.

This study combines Löbner and Allan's definitions of connotations to explain the element metonymically associated with the colour within the experiential scene relating to colour that develops into the target domain of colour metaphors after generalisation. Allan's

definition contributes to explaining how connotations of colour terms derive. Due to our experiences, beliefs and prejudices about the contexts where the expressions of the colour terms are typically used, some concepts are activated by the expression of colour terms conventionally. This explanation fits the proposal of correlation metaphors that are motivated by the correlated concepts in the experiential basis. However, the pragmatic effects highlighted in Allan's definition are not suitable for the study of metaphorical meanings of the colour terms that are regarded as the relatively conventional sense of the colour terms rather than a pragmatic use. Thus, the definition of Löbner that clarifies that the associations between connotations and literal meanings are conventional and that the connotations can be regarded as the secondary meanings is the one adopted in this thesis.

This thesis uses the term *connotation* to refer to the element correlated with the colour in the experiential scene, which conveniently enables us to trace back the experiential basis as the motivation of colour metaphors based on the dictionary and corpus evidence.

2.1.2.3 How metonymic is metaphor?

Since metonymy is regarded as another important conceptual process like metaphor, some scholars start to challenge the equal importance of metonymies and metaphors and argue that metonymies are more basic, and the question of whether all metaphors are ultimately motivated by metonymies is discussed. Based on a broad view of metonymy as connections of entities that co-occur in the same conceptual structure, Taylor (2002[1995]: 341–342) claims that the mapping elements from one domain to another domain is established through metonymic association. Take MORE IS UP for an example: according to the experience of adding more objects to a pile, the subjects get higher. The natural association between quantity and vertical extent is a metonymic relationship. Metaphor takes over when the up-down domain becomes disassociated from the piling-up image and is applied to more abstract instances such as prices getting higher. In other words, the co-occurrence of two concepts on an experiential basis is regarded as a metonymic relationship. Taylor then suggests that 'metonymy might be even more basic to meaning extension than metaphor' (2002[1995]: 342) and discusses the view that all metaphorical associations are grounded in metonymy. If the correlation between two concepts that will become the source and the target domains in the experiential basis is regarded as a metonymic relationship in the broadest sense, it is tempting to argue that all metaphors are grounded, ultimately, in metonymy. However, Taylor argues that some metaphors, such as synaesthetic metaphor (e.g. *loud colour*, *sweet music*) are not grounded in metonymy,

because synaesthesia involves the mapping from one sensory domain to another, which cannot be reasonably attributed to continuity (2002[1995]: 342–343).

Barcelona (2003) examines the hypothesis that conceptual metaphor is necessarily motivated by metonymy. With the broadest definition of metonymy which is ‘the cognitive activation of a conceptual complex by another with which it has strong cognitive-experiential links’ (2003: 51), Barcelona demonstrates that metaphor is based on one or more metonymic mappings, including the counterexamples that Taylor (2002[1995]) proposes. For example, in *loud colour*, the target domain is ‘deviant’ colour whose metonymic understanding is the typical salient subdomain (attraction of involuntary attention), and the source domain is ‘deviant’ sound which is metonymically understood in terms of the same salient subdomain (attraction of involuntary attention) (2003: 37).

Niemeier (2003) proposes that metonymies antecede metaphors in language development because many (or probably all) metaphors have metonymic bases; in other words, metaphors are dependent on metonymic conceptualisation. Although the final answer regarding whether all metaphors have metonymic bases is not presented yet, Niemeier suggests that metaphorical expressions do have metonymic bases.

‘Scanning the different steps in the development of a metaphorical construction may reveal that all the single steps involve metonymy and that therefore the whole expression may be considered to be a metonymy, but summarizing the development of such an expression by focusing only on the starting-point and the output may lead us to consider it to be a metaphor.’ (2003: 210–211)

This seems to imply that the metaphorical conceptualisation loses the connection to its metonymic bases in the later stage. It also suggests that the metonymy occurring in a metaphorical construction needs to be investigated by diachronic research.

Whether all metaphors are ultimately motivated by metonymies depends on the definition of metonymy. With the broadest definition of metonymy that it is cognitive activation, metonymy seems to enable experiential correlation, and thus it is reasonable to regard all metaphors as ultimately motivated by metonymies. The broadest definition of metonymy contains the tenet that experiential correlation is a type of metonymic relationship, so correlation metaphors are metonymy-based.

As for the resemblance metaphors that seem to have no experiential bases (e.g. Lakoff 1987, Grady 1999) and synaesthetic metaphors (e.g. *loud colour*, *sweet music*) that seem to

have no metonymic motivation, there is also a view that they are ultimately driven by a metonymic precomprehension of the target domain (Barcelona 2003: 52). For the example of *loud colour* (DEVIANT COLOURS ARE DEVIANT SOUNDS), its metaphorical mapping is achieved by the same subdomain (attraction of involuntary attention) that is metonymically highlighted in both metaphorical source (deviant sounds) and metaphorical target (deviant colours). Based on the proposal of resemblance metaphor, the motivation for the metaphor *loud colour* is explained as the similarity of involuntary attention shared by both the source domain and the target domain. Meanwhile, Barcelona claims that this similarity is ultimately driven by metonymy. He explains that the achievement of the similarity is ultimately stimulated by the subdomain of involuntary attention that is the metonymically highlighted aspect of the target domain (deviant colours), and it leads to the search for a source domain with the same metonymically highlighted subdomain (deviant sounds). In other words, the driving force of the metaphor is the metonymic precomprehension that lies in the target domain (Barcelona 2003: 38–39).

Although the similarity of resemblance metaphors could be explained as ultimately motivated by metonymy, the function of the metonymy for resemblance metaphor is different from that for correlation metaphor. For resemblance metaphor, as Barcelona suggests, metonymy functions as highlighting the shared subdomain (i.e. the targeted element for projection from metaphorical source to metaphorical target). For correlation metaphor, metonymy functions as the motivation for the mapping between metaphorical source and metaphorical target. The former function of metonymy is in a more fundamental cognitive level, and it is still reasonable to regard similarity as the direct motivation for resemblance metaphor. Thus, the typological division of experiential correlations and resemblance as the direct motivations for the mapping between source domain and target domain are still valid.

Serving the aim of exploring the experiential motivations for colour metaphors, it is appropriate to narrow the definition of metonymy to the motivation of experiential correlation that contradicts the motivation of resemblance. The present study partly agrees with the idea of Kövecses (2013: 75–76), who indicates that correlation metaphors are more likely to have a metonymic basis whereas resemblance metaphors have nothing to do with a metonymic basis. For the latter part, this study assumes that resemblance metaphors may have metonymic precomprehension that achieves the resemblance. After investigating colour metaphors, the present thesis will discuss whether all colour metaphors are motivated by metonymies in Chapter 8.

2.1.3 Universality and cultural variation of metaphors

Discussion of the universality of metaphors and the role of cultures and their relationships provides insights into the reasons for the similarities and differences of colour metaphors in two different cultures.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) negate direct bodily experience as the sole core of experience and acknowledge culture as a prerequisite for experience, but they still distinguish these two kinds of experience:

[...] we can still make the important distinction between experiences that are “more” physical, such as standing up, and those that are “more” cultural, such as participating in a wedding ceremony (1980: 58)

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 59) make an example of ‘Harry is in love’, in which the spatial and the emotional experience are equally basic as experiences but with the spatial concept being clearly delineated as more basic. The non-equality of conceptualisation of experience aligns with the unidirectionality of metaphors (from more concrete or familiar concepts to more abstract concepts).

The experiential basis of metaphors and the more basic position of conceptualisation of bodily-physical experience provide the theoretical foundation of the universality of conceptual metaphors: universal experiences give rise to universal metaphors. In particular, bodily-physical experiences are more likely to be universal and thus probably give rise to universal metaphors. For instance, some conceptual metaphors (esp. embodied metaphors and spatial metaphors) such as AN ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURISED CONTAINER and TIME IS SPACE exist in many different languages and cultures (Alverson 1994; Kövecses 2000).

These cases show that it is possible that there are some (near) universal metaphors.

Kövecses (2010) discusses the metaphor HAPPINESS IS UP, which is found in English, Chinese and Hungarian (Yu 1995, 1998; Kövecses 2010). This metaphor occurring in languages from different language families (Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan and Uralic language families respectively) shows the potential universality, which is motivated by a common experience of upward physical reactions accompanied by the emotion of happiness.

The theory of primary metaphors explains that the relatedness of source domains and target domains is motivated by the correlations between them grounded in body experiences in their primary scenes (see 2.1.1.1). Grady (1997) proposes primary scenes that involve

experiences and our subjective responses, which '[...] are universal elements of human experience, defined by basic cognitive mechanisms and abilities, which relate in some salient sense to goal-oriented interaction with the world' (1997: 24). Primary metaphors arise from primary scenes and thus their source domains all involve physical perception or sensation. For instance, a primary scene involving our physical experience of heaviness and our subjective response to it – difficulty – gives rise to the primary metaphor where HEAVINESS is the source domain which contains physical perception and DIFFICULTY is the target domain. Grady (1997) claims that the possibility of universal patterns arises from primary metaphors and primary scenes but does not discuss the universality of primary metaphors in detail. Nevertheless, in subsequent studies, primary metaphors are often regarded as potentially universal because they derive from universal body experiences (e.g. Kövecses 2005, 2010).

The universal elements of physical experiences in conceptual metaphors are the foci when discussing conceptual metaphors as cognitive processes because the conceptualisation of physical experiences is more basic and it is the grounding of understanding other domains of experience. Exploring universality is inevitably attractive for studying conceptual metaphors since metaphor is regarded as a cognitive process. The cognitive capacity that we share as human beings, and our universal experience (e.g. of the human body or spatial perception) may motivate universal metaphors. However, the universality of the physical experience is frequently attacked because it neglects the cultural particulars and does not explain the cultural variations contained in metaphors.

Some scholars criticise the suggestions that the bodily-physical experiential bases of metaphors are universal and cultural free. For example, Holland (1982) describes physicality as being cultural itself:

Even in comparing subcultures in American society, one might find groups in which love, for example, is interpreted as a very physical experience while in other groups, love may be interpreted as a matter of emotion. Physicality cannot provide an anchor, a formal grounding, for the definition of metaphor if the same experience can be construed as “physical” in one culture, “non-physical” in a second culture, and as both “physical” and “nonphysical” in a third. (1982: 292)

Furthermore, Holland (1982: 292–293) argues that WAR is as likely to be culturally shaped as ARGUMENT in ARGUMENT IS WAR, which is different from Lakoff and Johnson (1980:

77–86) who put the source domain WAR as being more physical (containing more bodily interaction with the physical environment) than the target domain ARGUMENT.

Investigating the universality, the role of cultures in conceptual metaphors and their relationships is a continuing concern within the study of conceptual metaphors. ANGER IS HEAT is a good example of an embodiment metaphor to show different emphases of conceptual metaphors and the role of cultures. Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) propose the general metaphor for anger in American English is ANGER IS HEAT, which is formed by the cultural model of physiological effects. Lakoff and Kövecses suggest that if anger does have a physiological basis, together with conceptual embodiment, metaphors of anger in the languages of the world will not contradict the physiological results (1987: 220). Since the physiological basis should be common, it is possible that there is a universal aspect to the metaphorical conceptualisation of anger across languages. Kövecses (2000) finds that English, Chinese, Japanese, and Hungarian share a central metaphor called a ‘container’ metaphor that informs and structures ANGER. To be specific, the human body is conceptualised as a container and ANGER is conceptualised as some kind of substance (fluid or gas) inside the container.

The prediction of the universality of the ANGER IS HEAT metaphor is attributed to the common physiology of human beings, which can be observed in the metonymy of anger. The criticism of the universality of the metaphor is mainly about reducing (though not totally denying) the function of physiology on the metaphorical conceptualisation of anger and emphasising the significant influence of culture (the humoral theory) in the development of the anger metaphor using diachronic research (e.g. Geeraerts and Grondelaers 1995; Gevaert 2001). By diachronically investigating the development of anger metaphors, Gevaert convincingly demonstrates that humoral theory plays an essential role in the formation of ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, and this is a cultural factor but not embodiment. Since the humoral theory has little relation to physiological elements, the universality that is based on physiology is questioned.

Different from cross-linguistic research that finds the universal aspect of anger metaphors, the findings of diachronic research seem to attribute the ANGER IS HEAT metaphor to cultural specificity. The diachronic analysis cannot totally refute the potential physiology that gives rise to universality. As Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995: 172) demonstrate ‘we do not claim that only cultural factors are important, and that physiological factors could not play a role in the development of our emotion vocabulary’; rather it is possible that

humoral theory itself draws on the physiological experiences. Gevaert also does not contest the possibility of the universality of AN EMOTION IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER metaphor in its widest sense, but just the universal status of ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER.

In short, emphasising the physiological basis and the cross-cultural metaphor ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID IN A CONTAINER makes anger metaphors more a cognitive process that has universal body experiences than a cultural production, while the diachronic investigation shows that the anger metaphor is more a cultural production than a cognitive process. The emphasis on a cognitive process or a cultural production does not negate one of them totally. A more comprehensive theory tends to argue that the conceptual grounding of conceptual metaphors is on both body (i.e. universal elements of human experience) and culture (e.g. Kövecses 2000, 2005; Khajeh et al. 2013).

Kövecses (2005) constructs a theory that accounts for both the universality and the variation of metaphors. He claims that primary metaphors are likely to be universal because of universal bodily experience. Complex metaphors consist of primary metaphors and they emerge in particular languages and cultures, e.g. LIFE IS A JOURNEY (2005: 3–4). Kövecses presents the emotion metaphor, the event structure metaphor, time metaphor etc. to show that primary metaphors and/or complex metaphors that are based on universal human experiences can be potentially universal or near-universal (2005: 64). These potentially universal metaphors, for example, THE ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURISED CONTAINER, function on a generic level. The generic schema is filled out by particular cultures at a specific level, instantiating and specifying what kind of contents, what kinds of substances in the container etc. As for the specific instances of the generic-level metaphors that are fully embedded in particular cultures, abundant variations are obviously expected (2005: 68).

To explain the historical and cross-cultural variations of primary metaphors, Kövecses (1995, 2005, 2010) proposes the notion of ‘differential experiential focus’ that merges the cognitive and cultural roles of metaphors. Kövecses criticises the view of regarding embodied experience as ‘a homogeneous, monolithic factor’ but turns to the idea that embodiment ‘consists of several components and that any of these can be singled out and emphasised by different cultures’ (2010: 203). Different cultures focus on different physiological reactions related to anger (e.g. in English a rise in temperature receives attention, while in Chinese pressure seems to be more salient), so there are variant

metaphors of anger across cultures. In addition, differential experiential foci can be observed historically, so Gevaert's diachronic research actually can be interpreted as the embodiment of anger influenced by cultural factors and speakers can put different experiential foci on the embodiment. Kövecses (2005) raises and resolves the question of whether conceptual metaphor theory can account both for universality and cultural specificity. One of the propositions of Kövecses's argument is:

It is simplistic to suggest that universal aspects of the body necessarily lead to universal conceptualization, and it is equally simplistic to suggest that variation in culture excludes the possibility of universal conceptualization. (2005: 294)

The notion of primary metaphors is important to highlight the cognitive role of metaphors. At the same time, the cultural role of complex metaphors is acknowledged. In this way, metaphors are both cognitive processes and cultural productions (2005: 11).

Kövecses (2005) demonstrates the variations of metaphors, including 1) specific instances of generic-level conceptual metaphors; 2) a culture uses a particular target domain and a set of different corresponding source domains or culture uses a particular source domain and different target domains; 3) for the same target domain, a culture shows a preference for some of the conceptual metaphors; and 4) unique metaphors of a particular language/culture (2005: 68–87). The causes for the variations can be grouped into 'differential experience and differential cognitive preferences or style'. The former cause includes awareness of context, differential memory, differential concerns and interests, and their various subcases (2005: 231–232). As for the latter, experiential focus, viewpoint preference, prototypes and framing, and metaphor versus metonymy preference are discussed (2005: 246–258).

Khajeh et al. (2013) reveal the metaphors of sadness in Persian are the productions of embodiment experience and 'em-minded cultural notions' by investigating the socio-cultural motivations for the construction of sadness metaphor. The concept of 'em-minded cultural notion' is proposed by Wu (2007) as the opposite of the Lakoffian notion of embodiment. He defines it as follows:

Another determining factor that is still quite neglected in metaphorical studies is the em-minded culture that is accumulated and deposited in a nation's worlds of knowledge, beliefs, habits, tradition, and even linguistic system, which for the past several thousand years has greatly shaped the nation's developments in thought and speech (including its metaphorical thinking and metaphorical expressions in its language). (2007: 20–21)

Khajeh et al. claim that the em-minded cultural models of humoralism and dietetics are prominent factors causing the variations from the cross-cultural conceptualisations of sadness.

Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2013) proposes the concept of a culture sieve to emphasise the crucial role of cultural components in conceptual metaphors including primary metaphors. She proposes a two-stage process of how body and culture interact when constructing the experiential basis of metaphors. In the first stage, conceptual metaphors select physical experiences that motivate the mappings between two domains of experience. The first stage is the same for all human beings regardless of their cultures because of the shared body. In the second stage, the bodily experience is purged, adapted, and modified by cultures. The second stage is culture-specific (2013: 323–324). In this context, the cultural sieve is defined as:

An active mediating device that makes our physical, sensorimotor universal experiences sift through the complex and socially acquired particular beliefs, knowledge, and worldview(s) intrinsic to belonging to one or several cultures (2013: 324)

Ibarretxe-Antuñano argues that the taken-for-granted universality of the primary metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING (e.g. Sweetser 1990: 38–39) is excessive because some cultures show the variation of KNOWING IS HEARING (e.g. Evans and Willkin 2000). Thus, Ibarretxe-Antuñano claims that the connection between perception and cognition is based on both physical experience and culture.

The culture sieve is more complex than differential experiential focus (Kövecses 2005: 246–247) and the culture filter (Yu 2008): it sieves bodily information and allows certain cultural elements to pass, and also impregnates them with the conceptualisation of a certain culture. An example is used to illustrate that bodily experience for metaphors is complemented with cultural elements: In English, HEAD IS TOP (e.g. head of mountain) is further extended to importance such as in ‘the head of department’. Thus, the metaphor of the domain of importance conceptualised by a vertical axis here is IMPORTANT IS UP. Differently, in Basque, the link between importance and head is triggered by the interpretation of the HEAD IS CENTER because of cultural background. Ibarretxe-Antuñano acknowledges the physical-bodily experiences grounded metaphor but emphasises they have to be sieved by cultures, so primary metaphors are not cultural free.

No matter the differential experiential focus or the cultural sieve, it is seen that the interplay between conceptual metaphors and cultures is difficult to conclude without detailed investigation in cultural contexts because the identification of what experiences are ‘more fundamentally and universally bodily-physical’ or ‘more cultural’ itself is not delineated. For example, the universality of KNOWING IS SEEING that is grounded in the bodily experience seems to be plausible before the cultural variation of KNOWING IS HEARING is found. Then, the potentially universal primary metaphor is corrected to a more generic metaphor as COGNITION IS PERCEPTION. This shows that the bodily experience of KNOWING IS SEEING is not fundamental and universal without cultural elements. Rather, it is more cultural.

The present study compared two languages, and therefore cannot of course make claims about universality, but the similarities can also suggest non-culturally specific (even potentially universal) experiences, which trigger generic conceptualisation, and the differences show how cultures play a role in the metaphors. Since the comparison is between two cultures, the variations are caused by cultural factors by default. Here, culture is used in a broad sense. Although the comparison of the present study can suggest universality in a very limited sense, the discussion of universality and cultural variations above gives insights to explain the similarities and differences. As the previous studies of colour metaphor comparison (which is discussed in 2.3.3) suggest, the similarities result from the same human experience. The same conceptualisation functions on a generic level and cultural elements give rise to metaphorical instantiation at a specific level.

In addition, Geeraerts and Grondelaers’s and Gevaert’s works demonstrate the importance of diachronic research in a specific culture, which contributes to distinguishing whether experiences that metaphors are grounded in are more common cross-cultural (usually some primary physical experiences) or cultural. ‘In other words, for a full description of metaphorical meanings, the historical process applied to construct and develop polysemous aspects of terms as well as the semantic relations that link the words [*sic*] generic meanings to their metaphorical meanings should be taken into account’ (Khajeh et al. 2013: 56).

Studies of cross-cultural or potentially universal metaphors mainly focus on primary metaphors that have physical experiences. A special kind of colour metaphors relating to emotions and health conditions can be regarded as primary metaphors, but many of them are non-primary metaphors. For non-primary metaphors whose experiential bases are not physical and are expected to vary cross-culturally, the similarities and differences

complement the non-culturally specific human experience as experiential bases of metaphors, which gives rise to the same metaphors.

2.1.4 Summary

Colour metaphors that have colours as the source domain can rarely be convincing if metaphor is only about similarities. However, previous studies claim that metaphors are not only about similarities but also about correlation (e.g. Grady 1999, Kövecses 2013). Based on the role of the experiential bases, the correlation may also give rise to metaphorical connections between the two domains. This thesis holds the view that metaphor is not only motivated by similarity but also by correlation, and thus metaphors can derive from metonymy.

This argument is related to the controversy of whether metaphor can derive from metonymy or not. Since the motivation of correlation is a sort of metonymy for giving rise to metaphors, it is reasonable to believe in the validation of metonymy-based metaphors. The view of correlation metaphor is metonymy-based metaphor regards two correlated distinct aspects of the experience in the same primary scene as a metonymy, and then the two correlated concepts are deconflated into the source domain and the target domain. This process can be interpreted as metaphor deriving from metonymy. On the contrary, if metaphor cannot derive from metonymy, the correlations are the reason for metaphorical mapping between source and target domains but are not involved in the development of metaphors. Thus, the correlations may be metonymic relationships but are independent of metaphors which are only about the mappings of two concepts. This study favours the former view, regarding correlations as sorts of metonymies that give rise to metaphors. In this way, the model ‘from basic events to primary metaphors’ (Figure 2.1) that explains the generation of correlation metaphors can be used as a reference to explain the generation of all kinds of metonymy-based metaphors (from metonymy to metaphor) using the cognitive system and experientialism.

Colour metaphors are correlation metaphors because colour as the source domain is mapped onto the target domain due to the correlation of the concepts in the image of metonymy. In other words, colour metaphors develop from the metonymic relationships between the colour and its correlated elements in experiential basis. The metonymic relationships are often motivated by the metonymic bases of colours. For example, in the experiential scene relating to *green*, plants as the metonymic bases of the colour motivate

the metonymic relationship between the colour green and the connotation of youth of plants. The connotation then develops into the metaphorical meaning of Youth (of human beings).

For colour metaphors as metonymy-based metaphors, metonymy and metaphor are two poles of a continuum, which has to contain fuzzy intermediate stages. In terms of when colour metaphors develop from their metonymies, the conceptual distance between two concepts is the key to seeing the metonymicity and metaphoricity in the conceptualisation. When the association between the colour and the connotations that are metonymically related in the experiential scene is generalised and overshoots the experiential scene, it develops into a metaphorical mapping.

In terms of colour metaphors, colour and connotations are metonymically associated in the experiential scene, which are generalised into two concepts that belong to distinct domains or frames. The generalisation process is characterised by being divorced from the experiential scene. In this way, the metonymic basis is non-obvious and the source and target domains are stretched to a sufficient distance, and thus the metonymically related elements lead to colour metaphors. For example, the colour purple and the connotation of high value are associated in experiential scene motivated by the metonymic bases of purple dyes. When the concepts of purple and privilege are divorced and generalised from the experiential scene to domains outside it, they are seen to belong to the domain of COLOUR and the domain of SOCIAL CLASS, which are two distinct domains. Thus, the metonymically associated elements in the experiential scene lead to the metaphorical mapping of PRIVILEGE IS PURPLE. The metonymic relationship in the experiential scene motivates and develops into the metaphorical mapping between the source and target domain.

Diachronic research has merits not only in exploring metaphorical development in individual language but also in the comparison of colour metaphors in different languages. On the one hand, it helps establish the metaphorical conceptualisation including the process from metonymy to metaphor. On the other hand, diachronic research contributes to exploring the interplay of the conceptualisation and cultural contexts in giving rise to the similarities and differences.

2.2 Colour semantics

This section sets out the theoretical background of colour terms, focusing on Berlin and Kay's (1991) proposal of Basic Colour Terms (BCTs). It aims to establish the equivalence of English and Chinese colour terms by discussing the universality and relativity debate in 2.2.1 and prototypical referents of colour terms in 2.2.2. 2.2.3 clarifies how the present research addresses this issue before comparing English and Chinese colour terms.

2.2.1 Universality and relativity debate with respect to colour

Colour seems to be a pivot between our internal world and the external world. The universal theory observes the commonalities among languages, which are based on universal perception of the spectrum due to the common sensory abilities of human beings. The debate between universality and relativity of colours is whether colour terms are related to the universal colour perception that is independent of language, or whether language influenced colour cognition and colour terms are culturally specific.

One of the most influential accounts of the proposed universality of colour categories comes from Berlin and Kay's book *Basic color terms: Their universality and evolution* (1991). They investigated 98 languages and found that colour terms from any language universally refer to up to eleven basic perceptual colour categories, which are WHITE, BLACK, RED, GREEN, YELLOW, BLUE, BROWN, PURPLE, PINK, ORANGE, and GREY (small capitals are used to denote colour categories). In the experiments, Berlin and Kay use a set of criteria to define a BCT (1991: 6–7):

- I. It is monolexemic; that is, its meaning is not predictable from the meaning of its parts (cf. Conklin 1962)...
- II. Its signification is not included in that of any other color term...
- III. Its application must not be restricted to a narrow class of objects...
- IV. It must be psychologically salient for informants. Indices of psychological salience include, among others, (1) a tendency to occur at the beginning of elicited lists of color terms, (2) stability of reference across informants and across occasions of use, and (3) occurrence in the ideolects of all informants...
- V. The doubtful form should have the same distributional potential as the previously established basic terms...
- VI. Color terms that are also the name of an object characteristically having that color are suspect...
- VII. Recent foreign loan words may be suspect.
- VIII. In cases where lexemic status is difficult to assess [...], morphological complexity is given some weight as a secondary criterion...

Another prominent finding of Berlin and Kay's work is that there is a partially fixed order in the history of a given language for these universal colour categories encoded into basic colour terms (reformatted from Berlin and Kay 1991: 4):

- I. white, black
- II. white, black, red
- III. white, black, red, green
 - a. white, black, red, yellow
 - b. white, black, red, green, yellow
- IV. white, black, red, green, yellow, blue
- V. white, black, red, green, yellow, blue, brown
- VI. white, black, red, green, yellow, blue, brown, purple, orange, pink, grey

According to Berlin and Kay's work, English (American) is in Stage VII, which has eleven BCTs, consisting of *black*, *white*, *red*, *green*, *yellow*, *blue*, *brown*, *purple*, *pink*, *orange*, and *grey* (1991: 94). Chinese (Mandarin) in Stage V has six basic colour terms, namely *bai* (white), *hei* (black), *hong* (red), *lv* (green), *huang* (yellow), *lan* (blue) (1991: 84–85). Although Berlin and Kay propose that Chinese (Mandarin) have six basic colour terms based on the criteria mentioned in the previous paragraph, Chinese scholars have different views of the number of BCTs in Chinese. The most accepted view of Chinese BCTs among Chinese scholars is nine BCTs consisting of *hong* (red), *huang* (yellow), *lv* (green), *lan* (blue), *zi* (purple), *he* (brown), *hei* (black), *bai* (white), *hui* (grey) (Li, 2007). This research studies *green* (IIIa), *purple* (VII), *orange* (VII), *pink* (VII) and the relatively recent non-basic colour terms *gold(en)*, *rose/rosy*, *peach(y)* and *beige*, and their Chinese counterparts.

Berlin and Kay also make a contrast between the category and foci and category boundaries (1991: 13). Since the category foci are highly reliable while the category boundaries proved to be unreliable, Berlin and Kay claim that 'whenever we speak of color categories, we refer to the foci of categories, rather than to their boundaries or total area' (1991: 13). This shows that category foci can represent the categories. Category foci, or focal colours, and category prototypes are often used as synonyms, but there are fundamental differences between these two concepts. Witzel (2019) argues that the notion of category prototype is descriptive, indicating the prototype is the most typical or best example of that category, while the concept of focal colours conveys the idea that category prototypes correspond to focal points that are universal across languages. This study assumes that colour terms that designate the category foci can represent the colour category. A colour term that designates a part of the category other than the focus cannot represent the category. For example, *red* covers the focus of the colour category of RED as

well as non-focus colours so it can refer to the category but *crimson* only refers to the dark colours of the category of RED so it cannot represent the category.

Reviewing the experiments conducted by Berlin and Kay and research on the physiological processes of human perception of colour (De Valois et al. 1966; De Valois and Jacobs 1968), Kay and McDaniel (1978) argue that the semantic universals of colours based on the visual system suggest it is perception that determines language in the case of colour rather than language determining perception.

Since the universal theory ignores the role of languages and cultures in colour cognition, it has received significant criticism, especially from linguistic (or cultural) relativity theory. Substantial evidence shows the differences in colour cognition between different languages (Roberson and Davidoff 2000; Roberson et al. 2005). Davidoff et al. (1999) investigate the categorisation of colour of a stone-age culture called the Berinmo of Papua New Guinea. The results show the considerable linguistic influence on colour categorisation. Davidoff (2006) claims that the use of colour terms is the only way to form colour categories. Fagot et al.'s (2006) cross-species experiment is another example of colour labels generating the range of colour categories. In this experiment, baboons and humans conduct a matching-to-sample task, using a typical green and a typical blue as standard. The performance of humans shows a sharp green and blue boundary when matching the stimuli, while baboons do not make a distinction based on the boundary.

Some scholars propose that both biological sensations and cultures have a role in colour cognition. Schirillo (2001) claims that the proposal of all cultures linking the colour terms to universal colour categories is partly right. The universalist's position may work for BLACK, WHITE, RED, GREEN, YELLOW and BLUE, but the later five colour categories of ORANGE, PURPLE, GREY, PINK and BROWN are likely to be more culturally determined. Some experiments on children's acquisition suggest learning colour names is both a cultural and biological event (e.g. Sandell et al. 1979). In addition, there exist languages that are different from the predictions of Berlin and Kay's evolutionary sequence. In the work of Conklin (1955), the Hanunoo have a Stage III language that has four Level I terms with foci in *black*, *white*, *red* and *green*. They are differentiated by lightness vs. darkness and wetness vs. dryness. Davies and Corbett (1998) compare English, Russian and Setswana with 11, 12 and 5 basic colour terms respectively using a colour grouping task. The results show that despite the language differences there are strong similarities in colour grouping, which is support for the universalist's position. There are also

discrepancies with the Berlin and Kay framework, and the most common is the presence of conjoined black-white clusters. Davies (1998) describes the same experiment of comparing English, Russian and Setswana on a colour grouping task, but draws more attention to the differences than the similarities. For example, Setswana speakers are more likely to group BLUE and GREEN tiles. In general, the results of this cross-language comparison show strong universalism but modulated weakly by language. The present study is in line with this combining view, which makes it possible to compare English and Chinese colour terms whose equivalent is established on biologically determined aspects of perceptual colour categories (esp. the foci) and also consider the culturally influenced aspects of colour categories (esp. the boundaries).

2.2.2 Prototypical referent

In Berlin and Kay's experiments, the equivalent of colour terms is examined by colour chips. This method is suitable for contemporary cross-language comparison, but when the meanings of colour terms are investigated and compared, the equivalents of colour terms are often established on the same prototypical referents. For example, Molnar (2013) compares English *red* and Croatian *crven* and finds that there are both universal and culturally specific facets of colour terms. Molnar regards colour terms as categories structured around prototypes. *Red* and *crven* have the universal prototypes of blood and fire but 'different degrees of membership point to fuzzy boundaries' (2013: 377). In Molnar's research, the equivalent of *red* and *crven* appears on the conceptualisation of *red* in both languages resting on the same prototypical referents of blood and fire.

The prototypical referents are crucial for the literal meaning of colour terms. The definition of colours, especially in dictionaries, often refers to the prototypical referents. Pakuła (2010) investigates how eight monolingual dictionaries of English, Japanese and Polish define BCTs. The analysis shows that most definitions use the hyperonym colour, and differentiation is illustrated by referring to the region in the colour spectrum and pointing to an example of extralinguistic entities. Pakuła points out that using referents to define colours could be expected if the extralinguistic entities are equal to the prototype of colours. Matschi (2004) finds that many colour terms 'are a product of metonymical extensions of entity senses' (2004: 56), which is also called prototypical referents of a word. For example, the prototypical referent of *red* is life-giving blood. Modern English colours are typically named after an object, substance or phenomenon, such as orange, flesh or darkness.

2.2.3 The equivalence of English and Chinese colour terms

This study assumes that the perceptual colour categories (or concepts) of English and Chinese can be generally considered to be equivalent due to the shared visual ability of human beings, which makes the cross-language comparison valid. The equivalent colour categories have the same foci which are represented by certain colour terms. Cultural variation (typically the boundaries and the reference to the attribute of real objects) is also considered if the differences in colour cognition influence the metaphorical meaning of the colour concepts.

This study chooses equivalent colour terms denoting the same concepts in English and Chinese, according to the same or similar literal meanings in dictionaries which often define colours by prototypical referents or the relationship with other colours. For example, *green* and *qing/lv* have the same prototypical referents of vegetation, grass, foliage etc. *Purple* and *zi* are both a mix of the colours red and blue. In addition, the chosen colour terms are expected to be the category foci of the perceptual colour categories. They are the representatives of colour concepts. This aims to establish the equivalent of English and Chinese colour terms on a biologically determined basis to the greatest extent. The criteria of basic colour terms mentioned in 2.2.1 could give some insights into which colour term can represent the category as a category focus.

The present study compares eight pairs of English and Chinese colour terms: *green* – *qing/lv*, *orange* – *cheng(se)/juse*, *rose/rosy* – *meiguise*, *purple* – *zi*, *gold(en)* – *jin(se)*, *pink* – *fen(hong)(se)*, *peach(y)* – *tao(hua)se*, *beige* – *mise*. Among the eight pairs of colour terms, *green*, *orange*, *purple* and *pink* are the basic colour terms in English and they represent the colour concepts. The Chinese counterpart of *green* includes *qing* and *lv*. *Zi* and *fen(hong)(se)* are controversial as basic colour terms in present-day Chinese, but they are indeed the category foci throughout history. Relatively recent colours *rose/rosy*, *gold(en)*, *peach(y)*, and *beige*, along with their Chinese counterparts *meiguise*, *jin(se)*, *tao(hua)se*, and *mise* are category foci and the representatives of the colour concepts.

It is seen that the correspondences of *green* – *qing/lv* and *orange* – *cheng(se)/juse* are not one-to-one matching. The former is because of the historical change of the representing colour term for a colour category, and the latter is due to multiple colour terms representing one colour category. The diachronic method of the present study has to consider the historical change of colour categories and colour terms when pairing English

and Chinese colour terms. In English, *green* encodes the category GREEN that designates the green colour throughout history. However, the Chinese counterpart of the colour term that is representative of the concept of the colour green changes through history. In Old Chinese and Middle Chinese, QING (encoded by *qing*) is a category that covers the spectrums of black, green and blue, which means *qing* can denote black, green and blue in different contexts. Although QING covers more of the spectrum than this present study concerns, *qing* is representative of the concept of the colour green at this stage, while *lv* only denotes light green. Then, in the late stages, the category of GREEN (encoded by *lv*) is specified to refer to colour green and finally replace QING in Late Modern Chinese. Thus, to investigate the colour term that refers to the colour green, both *qing* and *lv* are investigated, but *qing* denoting the green colour needs to be distinguished from black and blue. In addition, sometimes one colour category is encoded by more than one colour term. In the studied colour terms, Chinese *cheng(se)* (*orange*) and *juse* (*tangerine*) are hard to distinguish, and both represent ORANGE, so both of them are investigated as the counterparts of English *orange*. The correspondences of *green* – *qing/lv* and *orange* – *cheng(se)/juse* will be discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 respectively in detail.

In short, the compared English and Chinese colour terms are not expected to have exactly the same spectrum ranges and exactly the same perception in human brains. The equivalence rests on having the same foci of the universal perceptual colour categories, which can be examined by the colour chips today. When investigating the colour terms from a diachronic perspective, the equivalence is established by terms having the same referent or the same relationship with other colour.

2.3 Colour metaphor

This section reviews previous studies of English colour metaphors (2.3.1), Chinese colour metaphors (2.3.2) and studies comparing English and Chinese colour metaphors (2.3.3) to identify the main findings and gaps, from which it is shown that the diachronic and corpus-based methodology is suitable for the present research.

2.3.1 English colour metaphor

Some studies on figurative senses of colour terms are sketchy, descriptive and rely only on dictionaries as evidence, without scrutinising the process of figurative development. For example, Škara (1999: 67–70) lists phrases to show metaphorical meanings of *black* (e.g.

black magic), *white* (white knight), *yellow* (yellow belly), *blue* (blue blood), *red* (red herring), *gray* (gray despair), *brown* (brown bread) and *green* (green eye).

Scholars often discuss the connotations when investigating the figurative use of colour terms but do not clarify the relationship between the connotations and the figurative meanings. For example, Allan (2009) investigates the connotations of English colour terms on the basis of their orthophemistic, euphemistic or dysphemistic qualities, which are usually associated with figurative uses. For example, Allan mentions that *green*'s dysphemistic use in describing immature or inexperienced people is extended from unripe fruits such as apples and pears characterised by the colour green. Although Allan does not explicitly link connotations with metaphorical meanings, it is clear that most of the connotations can be regarded as metaphorical meanings of colour terms. Thinard (2019) also mentions the metaphorical connotations of *black*, *white* and *grey* in English idioms. In addition, Thinard notices colour terms gain metaphorical or metonymic meaning through their relationship with other colours. For example, *black* refers to badness, *white* refers to goodness and *grey* refers to what is in between.

Other studies pay more attention to the conceptual processes of the figurative sense of colour terms. The common insight is that metonymy is the basis of the figurative use of colour terms (Verosub 1994; Niemeier 1998; Verpoor 2006). Following this insight, Steinvall (2002) discusses the figurative use of colour terms, taking it as axiomatic that all cases of the figurative use of colour terms go back to metonymic processes. Steinvall proposes that there are two types of metonymical processes in the creation of figurative use of colour terms. One is SALIENT ATTRIBUTE FOR THE CATEGORY (part – whole), and the other is SALIENT CONCRETE ATTRIBUTE STANDING FOR SALIENT ABSTRACT ATTRIBUTE (part – part). For example, *black* in the phrase *black people* is a part – whole metonymy. *Born in purple* is an example of part – part metonymy. *Purple* as a concrete attribute stands for splendour as an abstract attribute in the domain of privilege (2002: 196–206).

Hamilton (2016) combines diachronic and synchronic approaches to investigate basic and non-basic colour terms, using dictionary and corpus method. The dictionary method aligns with the methodology the Mapping Metaphor project with some differences, which is comparing all lexical items in one category with those in every other category through a database query in the Historical Thesaurus and then coding the overlapping categories qualitatively. The corpus method uses the British National Corpus and Corpus of Contemporary American English to provide examples. As Hamilton claims, her study is

weighted towards present-day English and the diachronic element is restricted to a particular development (i.e. the interaction between metonymy and metaphor). The results present a comprehensive description of the figurative meanings of the English colour domain. Hamilton also discusses how metonymy and metaphor interact in the colour domain. She argues that colour in nature predisposes to metonymy and a metonymic motivation can almost always be found. Many cases of evidence suggest that the figurative meanings of colour terms show apparent metonymic motivations, which are extended in some way to move into metaphors (2016: 265).

2.3.2 Chinese colour metaphor

Chinese studies on colour metaphors focus on illustrating metonymic motivations and cultural significance. Some studies are dictionary-based but sketchily descriptive and undeveloped (Chen and Qin 2003; Xu and Tian 2020), while others are corpus-based. For example, Zhang (2012) investigates metaphors of *hong* (*red*) using the Chinese dictionary *Xiandaihanyucidian* and Center for Chinese Linguistics at Peking University corpus (CCL corpus). Zhang lists six target sources of *hong*, but the explanation for the motivations only mentions the referent of the human body and the cultural factors, without analysing the conceptual process of colour metaphors. Wan (2014) investigates the metaphorical meanings of *qing* (*cyan*), based on CCL. She analyses all the meanings of *qing* according to the corpus and then selects the metaphorical meanings of *qing*. Although Wan's study uses the concept of domain mappings to describe the metaphorical meanings, she offers very little theoretical analysis of the conceptual processes involved in metaphorical mapping.

Li's (2019) study on *lv* is rare, as a corpus-based diachronic study. Li uses a diachronic method to investigate the metaphorical evolution and expansion, and a quantitative method to calculate the distribution of metaphor patterns of *lv* in each of five historical periods. The result shows the development of metaphor patterns (downward trend, fluctuating trend and upward trend of each metaphorical meaning). The motivations for the change include the traditional etiquette of superiority and inferiority, the influence of Chinese literary works, and the development of modern society. Although the present study also uses a corpus-based diachronic method, it has a qualitative analysis focusing on the development of each metaphorical meaning of the colour terms rather than the quantitative method of Li with a focus on the change in metaphor patterns. Thus, the present study concerns the factors that motivate metaphorical meanings including conceptualisation and cultural

developments, while Li's study looks for the motivations of the higher or lower distribution of certain metaphorical meanings, which are more relevant to society development.

2.3.3 Comparison of English and Chinese colour metaphor

Chinese scholars contribute many comparison studies of English and Chinese colour metaphors. Some scholars compare individual colour terms (Ji 2003, Li 2014; Zhou and Hu 2019; Xiong 2013; Lin, Wen 2014), among which *red* and its Chinese counterpart *hong* are often investigated. Ji (2003) clarifies the different cultural connotations that give rise to different metaphorical meanings of *hong* and *red*, and one similar metaphorical meaning of enjoyment, which is attributed to language interaction. However, Ji does not analyse colour metaphors as a cognitive process.

Li (2014) analyses the similarities and differences of metaphors of *red* and *hong* from a cognitive perspective, regarding colour metaphors as mappings between the colour domain and target domains. She proposes the universality of colour categories due to the universal visual system and common human experience could result in the universality of red metaphors. The example is that both *hong* and *red* can refer to a positive meaning related to festivals. In China, red items are frequently used to increase the happy atmosphere of festivals. For example, *hongbao* (red pocket) symbolises happiness in the Spring Festival. In English, there is a phrase *red-letter day* figuratively referring to happy days. However, Li does not make it clear how the universality of colour categories and common human experience gives rise to the similar metaphorical meaning of happy days of *red* and *hong*. In addition, this similarity itself is problematic. According to OED, *red-letter day* originally refers to Christian festivals because they are indicated in the calendar by red letters (written in red ink), and then develops its figurative use of happy days. Rather, the auspicious and celebratory connotation of *hong* in Chinese culture probably originates from the worship of the sun and fire (which are the prototypical referents of *hong*) in ancient times, and thus *hong* is usually used in festivals. Since the motivations for *red* and *hong* in this positive sense are different, this similarity between them seems to be a coincidence. This shows the danger of simply attributing the similar figurative meaning of colour terms found in present-day English and Chinese as the universal conceptualisation, since a careful investigation of the development of the colour terms may suggest they have different cultural motivations and the similarity is just a coincidence.

Similar to Li's study, Zhou and Hu (2019) investigate and compare the target domains of *red* and *hong*. They also find that *red* and *hong* have the same connotation of warmth due to the shared prototypical referent of fire, and thus *red* and *hong* are used in festive conditions. The expressions of *red-letter day* and *red carpet* in English, and *hongshi* (refers to marriage) are used as examples. Ji, Li and Zhou & Hu point out *red* and *hong* have a similar positive metaphorical meaning of enjoyment, but their explanations are different. Ji claims that the similar metaphorical meaning is due to language interaction but does not provide evidence for this proposal. Li does not explain the reason directly, though her work possibly suggests the similarity is due to the shared human visual system and human experience. Zhou and Hu argue the reason for the similarity is the same prototypical referent of fire.

Li and Zhou & Hu's proposal that *red* and *hong* have a similar metaphorical meaning of gaiety (of festive occasions) is problematic. Li mentions a linguistic expression for Chinese *honghonghuohuo* (auspiciousness, prosperous and boisterousness) and provides one expression for English in *red-letter days*. Zhou & Hu provide one expression *hongshi* (wedding) and two expressions *red-letter days* and *red carpet*. In fact, in *red-letters days* and *red carpet*, the metaphorical meaning of the colour term *red* is importance (Hamilton 2016: 150–151). The metaphorical use of *red carpet* like 'red-carpet treatment' is probably because the colour red is salient and chosen to indicate importance. Thus, *red* in this sense cannot be regarded as an equivalent to *hong* in the sense of gaiety.

However, Ji's proposal of *hong* and *red* having a similar metaphorical meaning is different from that of Li and Zhou & Hu. Ji claims that developing from the concrete red items used in festivals, *hong* develops a metaphorical sense of auspiciousness, happiness and prosperity. Ji provides several expressions *honghuo* (prosperity), *fenhong* (dividends), *hongbao* (bonus) etc, and an expression *paint the town red* referring to flamboyant enjoyment, boisterousness, and exuberance. However, comparing these two senses, *red* is neutral while *hong* is positive, so they can hardly be regarded as a similar metaphorical meaning.

Many comparative studies compare several BCTs in English and Chinese since BCTs are regarded as the representative of colours in a certain language. Some of these studies are sketchily descriptive. They simply indicate the connotations of the colours based on dictionaries and then give the example of metaphorical expressions without analysing metaphors as a cognitive process (e.g. Chen 2003; Cao 2005; Yang 2008; Sun and Wang

2009; Liu 2014; Lin, Xuecui 2014; Ke 2012; Li 2020). Chen (2003) illustrates *black* with association with night which make us feel mystery and dread. Both English and Chinese use *black* and *hei* to describe mystery, illegal and dark things. For example, in *heixinchang* and *black heart*, *hei* and *black* indicate evil. Chen's work does not explain the metaphorical conceptualisation of the colour. To be specific, the concepts of domains and mapping are not used to describe the metaphorical conceptualisation (e.g., the colour domain of BLACK is mapped onto the abstract domain of evil). In addition, although Chen mentions the relationship between *black* and night, she/he does not point out the function of the prototypical referent in the metaphorical development. Thus, the similar conceptualisation of *hei* and *black* referring to evil in Chinese and English is not well explained. The different metaphorical meanings of Chinese and English are attributed to cultural factors but lack detailed explanations.

The dictionary-based method usually indicates the specific and clear connotations of colour terms and uses examples showing the figurative use of the colour terms conveying the connotations. In particular, this method is good for spotting the cultural connotations as motivations for colour metaphors. However, the shortcoming is that since the language evidence is lacking, it is not clear to what extent the connotations are developed into metaphorical meanings, and thus the metaphorical meaning is not clear. Li and Zhou & Hu claim that *hong* symbolises the gaiety of festal occasions, but the examples they give are a mix of connotations and metaphorical meanings. The examples of red items in festivals, such as *hongbao* (red envelopes), show that *hong* in the expressions has positive connotations but the colour term is literally used. Only two examples *hongshi* and *honghuo* (or *honghonghuohuo*) are metaphorical use. In the example *hongshi* (lit. 'red event'), *hong* metaphorically refers to the gaiety of a joyous occasion in Chinese tradition. *Hong* in *honghuo* indicates the general concept of prosperity, which is broader than the gaiety of festive occasions because it can be used to describe the status of life or business.

To investigate metaphors based on more examples, some research on red metaphors use English and Chinese corpora as data sources. Ning (2012) compares metaphors of *red* and *hong* using the Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus of British English (LOB) and the Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin Chinese (LCMC). She finds that the frequency of metaphorical use of *hong* compared to its literal use is more than that of *red*, and the number of the target domains of *hong* is more than that of *red*. Ning uses domain mappings to illustrate the metaphors of *red* and *hong* and identifies some of the same target domains, alongside some different target domains. However, Ning's claim that *hong* and *red* have the same target

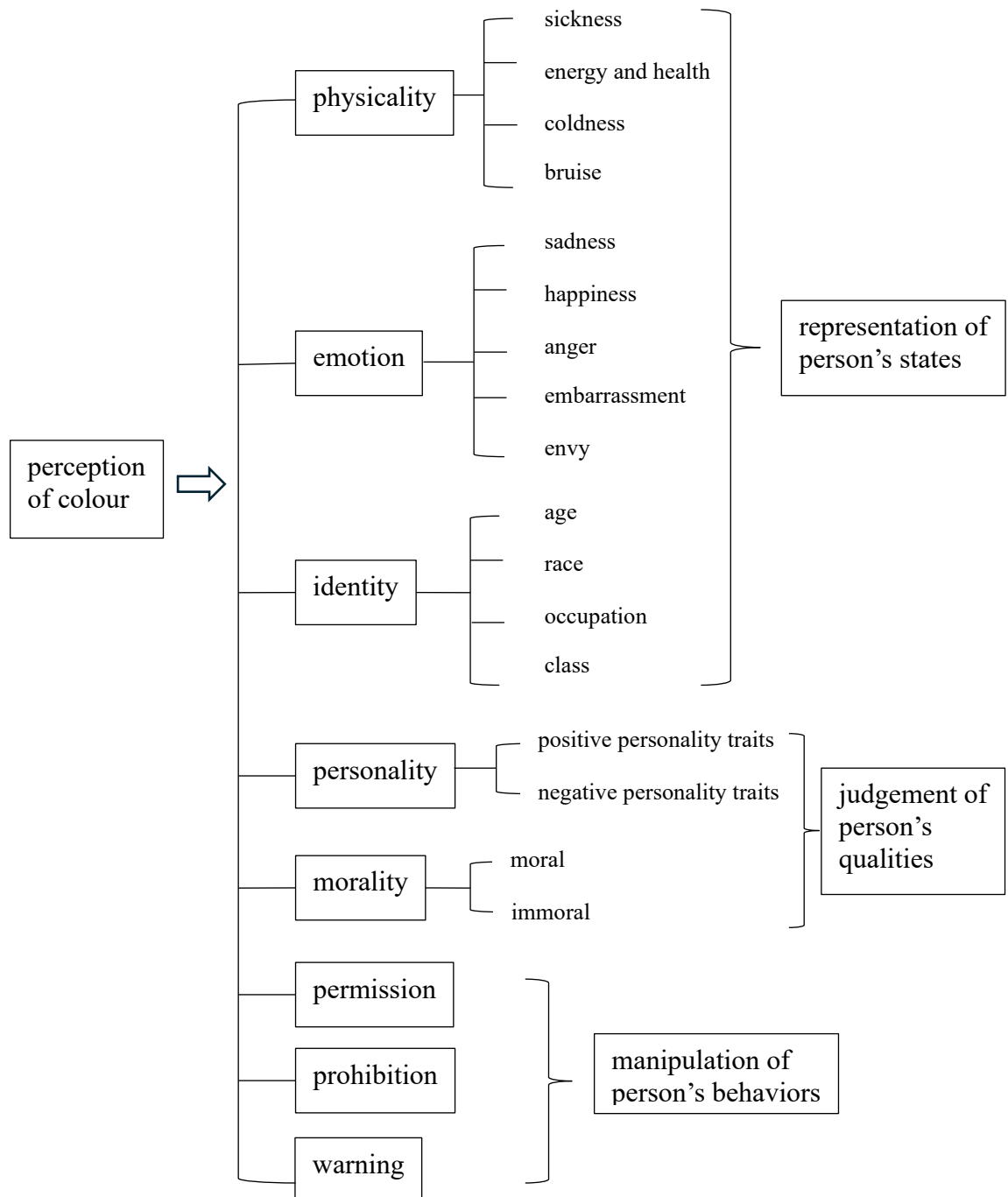
domain of gaiety is problematic, with Chinese examples of *hongduilian* (red Chinese New Year couplets), *hongdenglong* (Chinese red lantern) and *hongbao* (which do not express the metaphorical use of *hong*) and English examples of *red-letter days*, *to paint the town red* and *roll out the red carpet for somebody* (which are not equivalent to *hong*'s metaphorical sense).

Xu (2016) compares *hong* and *red* based on British National Corpus (BNC) and CCL. His study is relatively comprehensive and systematic, providing abundant examples. Xu proposes reasons for the similarities and the differences between *hong* and *red*. The universal physiological basis and common conceptual basis contribute to the similarities. For example, physiological reactions such as the red face and eyes accompanied by emotions give rise to similar metaphorical meanings in the emotion domains. The common experience of red blood reminding us of injury motivates the metaphorical meaning in the disaster domain. That red as a striking colour is used to express warning or attract attention is also shared by *red* and *hong*. The factors of the differences consist of the living environment, religion and belief, social conventions and customs, and political influence. Although Xu uses domain mappings to explain the metaphorical conceptualisation and also proposes the reasons for the similarities and differences, without discussion of the cognitive processes of the metaphorical conceptualisation (especially the role of metonymic basis is ignored), the reasons for the motivations for the metaphorical meanings and their similarities and differences could be problematic. For example, she/he also has the problematic claim that *red* and *hong* have the same metaphorical meaning of happiness, celebration and festival in the domain of emotion, which is due to the colour often being used on jubilant and joyous occasions. This reason for the similarity also does not accord with Xu's proposal that *red* and *hong* share the same target domain of emotion due to the universal physiological basis.

There are corpus-based studies on BCTs (Su 2009; Nie 2017). For example, Nie (2017) compares BCTs in English and Chinese using dictionaries and corpora. Nie proposes that the source domain of colour maps onto eight central target domains of PHYSICALITY, EMOTION, IDENTITY, PERSONALITY, MORALITY, PERMISSION, PROHIBITION and WARNING. Nie also discusses that colour metaphors she/he investigates are correlation-based metaphors rather than resemblance metaphors (2017: 57). There are two relationships in the systematic network of colour metaphors: one is a compositional relationship where complex colour metaphors consist of primary metaphors, and the other is a specific-abstract relationship where colour metaphors have different levels of schematicity, such as

SADNESS IS COLOUR and EMOTION IS COLOUR. As for the comparison between English and Chinese, Nie argues that in general, the experiential basis motivates similar colour metaphors, and the cultural basis motivates the differences (2017: 59–61). Nie's investigation of BCTs as the representative of the colour domain aims to explore the semantic matrix of target domains of the source domain of PERCEPTION OF COLOUR. A general map is as follows:

Figure 2.5 The mappings of the source PERCEPTION OF COLOUR to a semantic matrix of targets (Nie 2017: 17)



Nie presents tables of the mappings such as AGE IS COLOUR, EMOTION IS COLOUR and then lists a mixture of the same and different colour terms in English and Chinese with the target domain of AGE or EMOTION. The advantage is to show the target domains of colour as a whole domain which indicates how we use the colour domain to interpret other concepts. However, the development of metaphorical senses of a single colour term is not carefully scrutinised. Thus, when explaining the similarities of colour metaphors, Nie attributes them to the shared bodily experience and human universal visual responses to colour signs. However, some similarities like why *purple* and *zi* have a similar metaphorical meaning of Aristocratic cannot be explained in this way.

Interestingly, Nie also investigates *red* and *hong* when explaining HAPPINESS IS COLOUR. Nie firstly claims that *white* in English and *hong* in Chinese stand for happiness, but later mentions that the commendatory, joyous, and celebratory meaning of *hong* was spread to the west by the Persians, thus *red* has this metaphorical meaning as well in expressions like *red-letter days*, *to paint the town red* and *roll out the red carpet for somebody*. As we have discussed above, it is inappropriate to regard *red* and *hong* as having this similar meaning; rather they develop this positive sense individually if the metonymic bases are investigated.

2.3.4 Summary

Most of the existing comparative studies between English and Chinese colour metaphors have suffered from notable weaknesses. Firstly, the lack of conceptual metaphor analysis could lead to conflating the fully developed and undeveloped metaphorical meanings. Some studies describe the metaphorical meanings by illustrating the cultural connotations, while other studies use target domains to show the metaphorical meanings. It is better to describe colour metaphors as metaphorical mappings between the source domain (colour) and the target domain because clarifying the target domains is good for illustrating that it is a metaphorical mapping rather than a connotation that does not fully develop into a metaphorical expression. For example, Li's (2014) work claims that the colour *hong* is used in festivals and important occasions to increase the gaiety (e.g. the bride wears a traditional *honggaitou* 'red veil' in wedding; elders give children *hongbao* 'red envelopes' in Spring Festival), indicating that *hong* has the connotation of happiness, luck and prosperity. Since the examples are *hong*'s literal use, it is possible that *hong*'s connotation is not developed into a metaphorical use. Rather, if the target domain of ACTION is

illustrated and the metaphorical expression of *honghuo* is provided, the metaphorical meaning of *hong* makes more sense.

Secondly, previous studies with solely a dictionary-based method usually analyse the metaphorical meanings focusing on the cultural significance, which could lead to inaccurate metaphorical meanings. For example, Zhou and Hu (2019) claim that *hong* has the metaphorical meaning of gaiety of festival occasions because of the cultural convention of using red items in festivals. However, there is no metaphorical expression of this meaning, but *hong* does have the metaphorical expressions of a more abstract concept of auspiciousness, happiness and prosperity. Since the corpus-based method provides linguistic expressions with contexts, it is good for examining the exact metaphorical meanings of colour terms. Thus, compared with the dictionary-based method, the corpus-based method contributes to finding comprehensive metaphorical meanings of colour terms with abundant examples.

Thirdly, the lack of analysis of detailed metaphorical conceptualisation could lead to inadequate explanations for the motivations of colour metaphors, mistaken similarities, as well as deviation in exploring the reasons for the similarities and differences. Although some comparative studies discuss the importance of the prototypes, metonymy and metaphor when analysing metaphors (Zhang and Du 2007, Xue and Yang 2014), previous comparative studies on colour metaphors in English and Chinese pay little attention to how the cognitive processes of metonymy and metaphor work in colour metaphorical conceptualisation, especially the role of metonymy. Taking *hong* and *red*'s positive meaning for an example, a lack of awareness of the metonymy results in the mistaken perception of similarity of the gaiety of festive occasions. The similar connotations of the gaiety (of festive occasions) are coincidental. The reason for the similar extended meaning due to their shared prototypical referent of fire (Zhou and Hu 2019) is also questionable. The lack of a scrutinised process of metaphorical conceptualisation is because of the methodological limitation of the synchronic perspective, which does not focus on the development of metaphors. This limitation can be complemented by a diachronic perspective that allows investigation on the metonymic basis and the development of metaphors.

To fill the gap, the present study analyses English and Chinese colour metaphors as conceptual metaphors, using a diachronic and corpus-based method. The diachronic corpus-based method enables the exploration of metaphor development of colour terms.

The theoretical framework of conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy is used to analyse the metaphor development and uncover the metaphorical conceptualisation of colour metaphors involving the process that moves from metonymy to metaphor. In addition, the diachronic and corpus-based method offers insights into the interpretation of the metaphorical use of colour terms and the experiential motivations for colour metaphors. By comparing the development and motivations of colour metaphors in English and Chinese, the reasons for similarities and differences are examined by differentiating the roles of the potentially universal patterns and culturally motivated patterns. The corpora also evidence some metaphorical meanings that are not shown in the OED, HTE and MM, and connotations that have the potential to develop into metaphorical meanings.

The study aims to investigate and compare the development of English and Chinese colour terms including the origin, developing process and the motivations for each stage of each metaphorical meaning, and then explore factors in the metaphorical development and conceptualisation that cause the similarities and differences. The research questions are:

1. How do colour terms develop metaphorical meanings in English and Chinese?
 - 1a. How do metonymy and metaphor interact in the development of colour metaphors?
 - 1b. What is the role of metonymic bases of colour terms in the development of colour metaphors?
2. What are the similarities and differences between English and Chinese colour metaphors?
3. What are the reasons for the similarities and differences
 - 3a. How do the metonymic bases of colour terms contribute to the similarities and differences?
 - 3b. What are the factors that determine the similarities and differences?

To explain the similarities and differences of English and Chinese colour terms in a diachronic way, the development of English colour metaphors and that of Chinese colour metaphors are investigated respectively first and then are compared to find out the similarities and differences. Question 1 is to explore how colour terms develop metaphorical meanings in English and Chinese. As 2.1.4 shows, colour metaphors as correlation metaphors are metonymy-based. The motivation for colour metaphors is the metonymic relationships in the experiential scene relating to colour. Thus, the question concerns the interaction between metonymy and metaphor in the metaphor development.

1a discusses the metonymic relationship in the experiential scene and its generalisation to metaphor. 1b discusses the role of the metonymic basis of colour terms in the development to explore the motivations for the metonymic relationship in the experiential scene. Question 2 is answered by the comparison of the metaphorical senses of English and Chinese colour terms. Question 3 then discusses the reasons for the similarities and differences. The discussion starts with the role of metonymic bases and then the specific factors in the metaphorical conceptualisation.

Chapter 3 Methodology

This chapter introduces the methodology of the present study by introducing the selection of colour terms, the data collection by dictionary and corpus evidence, and outline of Chapters 4 to Chapter 7 in sections 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3, respectively.

3.1 Selection of colour terms

The present research compares the development of metaphorical meanings of colour terms in English and Chinese. The premise of the compared English and Chinese colour terms is that they refer to the same part of the spectrum, and thus they can be regarded as a pair of equivalent colour terms in two languages. This study aims to explore the role of the metonymic basis in developing metaphorical meanings of colour terms and in giving rise to the similarities and differences between English and Chinese, so the primary criterion of selecting the colour terms compared in this thesis is: colour terms with the same etymological metonymies versus different etymological metonymies. This is different from most previous comparative studies that mainly focus on one or multiple basic colour terms of English and Chinese.

It is worth noting that choosing terms with the same etymological metonymies between English and Chinese is to ensure that the corresponding English and Chinese colour terms have at least one shared metonymic basis (and it is the most important one). They can also have other metonymic bases that are not etymological. For example, *green* has the etymological metonymies of plants, which motivates the majority of metaphorical meanings. It also has other metonymic bases of skin and traffic lights that motivate metaphorical meanings. *Qing* has the same etymological metonymies of plants as *green*, which also motivate the majority of metaphorical meanings of *qing*, and it has other metonymic bases of skin, clothes and painting. The comparative analysis in this study will sort the metonymic bases (both etymological metonymies and other metonymic bases) of English and Chinese colour terms and explore their roles in motivating metaphorical meanings after investigating each colour term. At the stage of choosing the English and Chinese colour terms to be compared with respect to metonymic bases, only etymological metonymies are taken into consideration.

The present study firstly chooses plants as the same etymological metonymies of English and Chinese colour terms compared here because both English and Chinese have colour

terms with shared metonymic bases of plants including leaves, fruits, and flowers and these colour terms cover primary BCTs (e.g. *green*), secondary BCTs (English *orange*) and non-BCTs (*rose/rosy*, *pink*, *peach(y)*). The plant bases are a consistently salient phenomenon for humans, which have both intrinsic and cultural connotations, and thus there are a fruitful source of metaphorical expressions to examine the universal conceptualisation and cultural factors. The research also investigates colour terms with other etymological metonymies (dyes, metal), in order to explore the universal function of different types of metonymic bases rather than being limited to plants.

For pairs of colour terms with different etymological metonymies, this study chooses one pair with etymological metonymies of different kinds of plants (English *peach(y)* and Chinese *tao(hua)se*), and two pairs in which one has a plant-base and the other has another base (English *pink* and Chinese *fen(hong)(se)*, English *beige* and Chinese *mise*). These pairs can reveal the role of metonymies by concentrating on plants and being compared to those with the same etymological metonymy of plants.

To be specific, this research has identified three sets of colour terms, including the English colour terms *green*, *orange*, *rose/rosy*, *purple*, *gold(en)*, *pink*, *peach(y)*, *beige*, and their Chinese counterparts *qing/lv*, *cheng/juse*, *meiguise*, *zi*, *jin(se)*, *fen(hong)(se)*, *tao(hua)se* and *mise*, as Table 3.1 shows:

Table 3.1 Three groups of selected colour terms

Group	English colour term(s)	Chinese colour term(s)	Etymological metonymy	Chapter
Group 1	<i>green</i> , <i>orange</i> , <i>rose/rosy</i>	<i>qing/lv</i> , <i>cheng(se)/juse</i> , <i>meiguise</i>	shared metonymy of plants (plants, fruits and flowers)	Chapter 4, Chapter 5
Group 2	<i>purple</i> , <i>gold(en)</i>	<i>zi</i> , <i>jin(se)</i>	shared metonymy of purple dyes and the metal gold	Chapter 6
Group 3	<i>pink</i> , <i>peach(y)</i> , <i>beige</i>	<i>fen(hong)(se)</i> , <i>tao(hua)se</i> , <i>mise</i>	different metonymies	Chapter 7

In the first group, *green*, *orange*, *rose/rosy* and their counterparts *qing/lv*, *cheng(se)/juse*, *meiguise* are studied and compared since they share the same etymological metonymies of plants, but three different kinds of plants. *Green* and *qing/lv* have the same etymological metonymies of leaves, grass and vegetation. *Orange* and *cheng/juse* have the same etymological metonymies of the citrus fruit. *Rose/rosy* and *meiguise* have the same etymological metonymies of the rose flower. In the second group, the types of etymological metonymies move from plants to non-plants, using dyes and metals as examples. *Purple* and *zi* are chosen because they have the same etymological metonymies

of purple dyes, though the sources of the purple dyes are different. *Gold(en)* and *jin(se)* have the same etymological metonymy of the metal gold. In the third group, the compared colour terms have different etymological metonymies: either they have different kinds of plant metonymies or one has the etymological metonymy of plants while the other has not. *Pink*'s metonymic basis is probably the petals of flowers, whereas *fen(hong)(se)*'s metonymic basis is makeup powder. *Peach(y)* and *tao(hua)se* are from the same kind of plants, but *peach(y)*'s metonymic basis is the fruit while *tao(hua)se*'s metonymic basis is the flower (peach blossom). *Beige*'s metonymic basis is clothing while *mise*'s metonymic basis is the crop rice.

These three groups are arranged to reveal the role of metonymic bases of colour terms in motivating the similarities and differences between English and Chinese colour metaphors. The first group of English and Chinese colour terms are investigated to explore the similarities and differences in the case where the colour terms have the same etymological metonymic bases of plants. The second group of colour terms aims to examine other types of metonymic bases also play the same role as plants. That is, the role of metonymic basis is universal in colour metaphors and is not limited to plants. The third group of colour terms functions as a control group that has different etymological metonymic bases to show the differences from the first group and the second group. The differences reveal the role of the metonymic bases in motivating similarities and differences.

The first group of colour terms is discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, colour terms in the second group are presented in Chapter 6 and the third group is shown in Chapter 7. The first group is divided into two chapters – *green* and its Chinese counterparts in Chapter 4, *orange*, *rose/rosy* and their Chinese pairs in Chapter 5 – because *green* and its Chinese counterparts are considerably long due to their large number of metaphorical meanings. The disparate length of Chapter 4 (*green* – *qing/lv*), 5 (*orange* – *cheng(se)/juse*, *rose/rosy* – *meiguise*), 6 (*purple* – *zi*, *gold(en)* – *jin(se)*), and 7 (*pink* – *fen(hong)(se)*, *peach(y)* – *tao(hua)se*, *beige* – *mise*) is due to the divergent productivity of the metaphorical senses of the colour terms. *Green*, *qing/lv* as basic colour terms in English and Chinese have large numbers of metaphorical meanings, and there are two colour terms *qing* and *lv* as the Chinese counterpart of *green*, so Chapter 4 is disproportionately long compared to other chapters. *Orange*, *cheng(se)/juse*, *rose/rosy* and *meiguise* have relatively lower productivity of developing metaphorical senses, so Chapter 5 is the shortest of these four chapters. Chapter 6 is of moderate length because *purple* and *zi* have numerous metaphorical meanings, while *gold(en)* – *jin(se)* as non-basic colour terms have less

metaphorical use. Chapter 7 occupies less space than Chapters 4 and 6 because *fen(hong)(se)*, *peach(y)*, *tao(hua)se*, *beige*, *mise* are non-basic colour terms (except *pink*) and relatively recent developing colour terms, but there are three pairs in this chapter, so this chapter is longer than Chapter 5.

3.2 Data collection

The present study fills the gap in diachronic research of colour metaphor comparison of English and Chinese by combining dictionary evidence and diachronic corpus evidence to compare and contrast colour metaphors in English and Chinese.

3.2.1 Dictionary evidence

The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) is the main dictionary resource the present study uses to search for the variant forms, etymologies, figurative uses and dates of occurrence of colour terms. The Historical Thesaurus of English (HTE) ‘is organized so as to present words and their dates of recorded use within a highly detailed semantic framework of categories and subcategories: that is, words are arranged according to their meanings, rather than alphabetically’¹ (Introduction to HTE website). HTE contains almost every recorded English word from Old English to Present-Day English, which is presented within ordered categories. Thus, under each semantic category, a group of words listed together share a component of meaning, embedded within a conceptual scheme. The conceptual hierarchy of semantic categories offers a unique system for semantic classification and reveals the metaphorical senses under the semantic categories.

HTE groups words according to the semantic category rather than listing meanings of words in alphabetical order in the way that dictionaries do. A polysemous word could belong to multiple semantic categories to show its different meanings including metaphorical meanings. For example, when searching for *green* in HTE, it is shown under 71 categories with dates, including the category ‘01.10.09.07.04 n. Green/greenness’ that expresses its literal meaning, and the category ‘01.01.09.07 adj. Environmentalism’ that expresses one of its metaphorical meanings. In this way, the search results of the categories that a colour term belongs to show the semantic categories of its literal meanings and non-literal meanings. Since a colour metaphor is a mapping between the domain of a colour and the target domain, the semantic categories of the metaphorical meanings of colour

¹ <https://ht.ac.uk/guide/> (Accessed: 10 February 2025)

terms can be regarded as representative of the target domains. Thus, compared to OED which informs the interpretations and dates of metaphorical meanings of colour terms, HTE shows the target domains of the metaphorical mappings of colour metaphors with dates.

HTE shows the semantic categories of all meanings of a colour term, but the present study concerns metaphorical meanings. Mapping Metaphor with the Historical Thesaurus of English (MM) is an important reference tool to identify that the overlap between different categories is metaphorical. MM uses the electronic database of HTE to investigate metaphors in English and identifies more than 14,000 metaphorical connections. MM does this by identifying all identical word forms in different semantic categories and then carrying out manual analysis of the word forms in each pair of semantic categories in order to distinguish metaphors from non-metaphorical linguistic phenomena that make the word form belong to different categories. Thus, consulting MM is the quickest way to explore the target domains of colour terms. However, although MM provides uncontroversial metaphorical connections between the domains of colour terms and the target domains, the present study re-organises and collects the metaphorical meanings of the colour terms for OED and HTE. This is for various reasons: 1) MM includes the colour terms in a collective category of ‘1J35 Individual colours’, so it shows the links between the entire category that contains all colours (black, white, red etc.) and other categories rather than showing the links for the individual colour term. This study concerns the metaphorical meanings of each colour term, which could not be fully depicted by MM. 2) the date information of MM is shown as time periods (e.g. 1400–1449, 1550–1599 etc.), but OED and HTE provide the exact year of earliest attestation.

The primary source of data for the first edition of HTE is the second edition of OED. The present study uses the third edition of OED, and where relevant the discrepancies due to OED revisions are examined in the analysis chapters. HTE also includes the data from A Thesaurus of Old English (TOE). TOE augments the OE vocabulary that OED does not cover. The complementary Old English data for TOE are taken from Bosworth-Toller and Hall dictionaries².

² J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, ed., *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, London 1898

T. N. Toller, ed., *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Supplement*, London, 1921

A. Campbell, ed., *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Enlarged Addenda and Corrigenda*, Oxford, 1972

J. R. Clark Hall and H. D. Merritt, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 4th ed., Cambridge, 1960

Together, OED, HTE and MM provide a panorama of metaphorical expressions of colour terms through history, which enables us to create a timeline of emerging metaphors.

However, it is dangerous to draw conclusions without language evidence in context and cultural background. Gevaert (2005) illustrates this as follows:

The information, however, is too vague for doing thorough research into the evolution of conceptualizations as, for instance, the context in which the expressions occur or more or less precise dates of occurrence are lacking (Gevaert 2001: 91–92). Therefore, the only option left is a corpus-based approach. (2005: 198)

Therefore, the present study combines the methods of using the dictionary evidence (OED, HTE and MM) and historical corpora. The corpus-based method is discussed in 3.2.2.

For Chinese colour metaphors, *Shuowen jiezi* (hereafter *Shuowen*), *Shiming*, *Ziyuan* and *Hanyu dacidian* (hereafter *Dacidian*) are used to explore the etymologies and metaphorical meanings of the colour terms at the first stage. *Shuowen* is a textual tool compiled by Shen Xu, a scholar in the East Han dynasty. It is the earliest Chinese dictionary to analyse the morphology and etymology of Chinese characters systematically. *Shiming* was written by Xi Liu at the end of the Han dynasty. It examines the original meaning of the word from the point of view of its sound, explaining the reasons why things are so named. *Ziyuan* is a book compiled by the modern scholar Xueqin Li, aiming to explore the origin of the characters and to sort out the evolution of the characters from oracle bone to the regular script.³

Dacidian is a historical dictionary of Chinese words from ancient to modern times. The explanation of each word is based on historical principles, clarifying the origin and evolution of word meanings, occurrence and development. Generally speaking, the original meaning (etymology) of a word is explored first, and then its derivations and metaphors are set out in chronological order to build up a genealogy of the meaning of the word. *Dacidian* adds quotations to each entry with their citations and dates (dynasties in ancient times), which are arranged in the order of historical development as far as possible. Thus, it shows the changes of the same word in different periods from the perspective of the editorial team. The data of *Dacidian* covers books and periodicals from the pre-Qin dynasties (before 221 B.C.) to modern times, and the modern Chinese vocabulary is based on writings, newspapers, magazines, and textbooks. However, *Dacidian*'s explanations for

³ Oracle bones are pieces of ox scapula and turtle plastron. They were used for pyromancy in the late Shang dynasty.

the figurative use of the colour term and the information on the dates of the metaphorical development need to be examined and complemented by corpus evidence. Furthermore, *Dacidian* does not explicitly explain how the metaphorical meanings develop from the etymologies and how they are different from other extended meanings. The dictionary provides limited examples that cannot show the metaphor development. In addition, there are no tools like HTE and MM to illustrate the metaphorical connections and target domains in Chinese. Thus, the diachronic investigation of Chinese colour metaphors mainly relies on the corpus evidence, which is discussed in 3.2.2.2.

3.2.2 Corpus evidence

This research is conducted by searching for each colour term in four different historical periods. The division of the four periods is to investigate the evolution of colour metaphors throughout history using historical corpora. The history of English is divided: Old English (–1150), Middle English (1150–1500), Early Modern English (1500–1710) and Late Modern English (1710–1999). The history of Chinese is divided into: Old Chinese (11th century B.C.–A.D. 220), Middle Chinese (220–1127), Early Modern Chinese (1127–1917) and Late Modern Chinese (1917–present). Because of the large difference in terms of dates between four periods for English and four periods for Chinese, the comparison of English and Chinese is from the perspective of the whole development of one colour term in the history but not from the individual period.

3.2.2.1 English corpora

The historical period division in the present study is mainly based on the diachronic part of the Helsinki Corpus. According to the *Manual to the diachronic part of the Helsinki Corpus of English texts: Coding conventions and lists of source texts*⁴, the diachronic part of the Helsinki Corpus includes texts from Old, Middle, and Early Modern (British) English periods. The sub-period divisions are as follows:

⁴ <http://kh.aksis.uib.no/icame/manuals/HC/INDEX.HTM> (Accessed in 10 February 2025)

Table 3.2 Sub-periods of the Helsinki Corpus

OLD ENGLISH	I –850
	II 850–950
	III 950–1050
	IV 1050–1150
MIDDLE ENGLISH	I 1150–1250
	II 1250–1350
	III 1350–1420
	IV 1420–1500
EMODE, BRITISH	I 1500–1570
	II 1570–1640
	III 1640–1710

The Helsinki Corpus does not mention English periods after 1710. Graddol (1996: 41) distinguishes seven ages of English: 1. Pre-English period (–c. 450), 2. Early Old English (450–c. 850), 3. Later Old English (c. 850–1100), 4. Middle English (c. 1100–1450), 5. Early Modern English (c. 1450–1750), 6. Modern English (c. 1750–1950), 7. Late Modern English (c. 1950). It is seen that the divisions between Graddol’s work and the Helsinki Corpus are similar, though with slight differences. The present study uses the division of the Helsinki Corpus and regards the period after 1710 as Late Modern English with reference to Graddol’s study (combining Modern English and Late Modern English as one period). The end date of Late Modern English is labelled as 1999 because of the time coverage of the corpora. The division of historical periods used in this study is as follows:

Table 3.3 Four historical periods of English

Historical periods	Date
Old English (OE)	c. 850–1150
Middle English (ME)	1150–1500
Early Modern English (EModE)	1500–1710
Late Modern English (LModE)	1710–1999

To investigate colour terms in the four English historical periods, historical corpora are selected. The foremost criterion in corpus selection is that the corpora provide coverage of the four historical periods. Where possible, each corpus is balanced and encompasses various genres. Also, public availability of the corpus is a key factor. Based on these considerations, six corpora were selected for the study: the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts (HC), Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence (PCEEC), Early English Books Online V2 & V3 (EEBO V2 & V3), Corpus of Late Modern English Texts, version 3.1 (CLMET3.1), A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers July 2019 – beta version 2 (ARCHER 2019), and British National Corpus (BNC). The information on these six corpora is as follows:

Table 3.4 Details of the corpora

Corpora	Periods covered	Size (words)	Genre/Text type
HC	c. 850–1710	1.6 million	various genres
PCEEC	1410–1681	2.2 million	personal letters
EEBO	1470s–1690s	624 million (V2), 1,202 million (V3)	printed books with various genres
CLMET3.1	1710–1920	34 million	written texts with various genres
ARCHER 2019	1600–1999	c. 3.3 million	various (balanced)
BNC	1980s–1993	100 million	various (balanced)

HC covers the period from around 850 to 1710. It is designed to be representative of language in a specific period with a rich collection of texts of various text types and registers of writing. PCEEC contains 4970 personal letters that are selected to be as socially representative of the literate social ranks of the time from around 1410 to 1681. EEBO is a comprehensive resource for early modern scholarship, whose historical documents span a wide array of genres. CLMET3.1 contains texts written by British and Irish authors from 1710 to 1920. The genre of the texts includes narrative fiction, non-fiction, drama, letters, treatises, and miscellaneous written works. ARCHER is a multi-genre historical corpus of British and American English ranging from written and speech-based registers, which covers the period from 1600 to 1999. BNC has a wide range of genres such as spoken texts, fiction, magazines, newspapers, and academic, and it covers the final decades of the twentieth century.

The correspondence of the four historical periods and six corpora are as follows:

Table 3.5 The correspondence of four historical periods and six corpora

Label	Date	Corpora
Old English	c. 850–1150	HC
Middle English	1150–1500	HC, PCEEC, EEBO, ARCHER 2019
Early Modern English	1500–1710	HC, PCEEC, EEBO, ARCHER 2019
Late Modern English	1710–1999	ARCHER 2019, CLMET3.1, BNC

HC is used for investigating English colour terms in OE. HC, PCEEC, EEBO, and ARCHER 2019 are used for ME and EModE. ARCHER 2019, CLMET3.1, and BNC are used for LModE. These corpora meet the primary criteria of coverage of the four historical periods and public availability. However, there are some limitations that need to be acknowledged. Firstly, although most corpora have various genres (except for PCEEC which is a genre-specific corpus), not every corpus can be regarded as representative of the time. HC, ARCHER 2019, BNC are designed to be representative, while PCEEC, EEBO, and CLMET3.1 are not. Nonetheless, the latter three corpora are important resources for

investigating colour terms in certain periods. Considering the large sizes of EEBO and CLMET 3.1, which are shown in Table 3.4, they provide abundant examples of colour metaphors in ME, EModE and LModE. PCEEC as a genre-specific corpus is chosen to provide more examples in ME and EModE because these two periods have limited examples provided by the corpora according to the pilot study of *green*. Secondly, the sizes of the corpora differ greatly. EEBO, CLMET3.1 and BNC are considerably bigger in size than the others. Thirdly, the number and the size of corpora that cover each historical period are different. These limitations are largely due to the long coverage of time.

The limitations do not undermine the suitability of the selected corpora for the present research because this study adopts qualitative approach and does not include quantitative analysis. The selected corpora sufficiently meet the requirements of the present study by (1) covering the historical periods, (2) being representative as far as possible (in being balanced or multi-genre) to provide a wide selection of examples showing the comprehensive metaphor patterns of colour terms, and (3) being publicly available.

Since there are variant lexical forms representing target colour terms when investigating them over a long history, the search for lexical items is informed by OED. OED has the function of selecting the forms, restricted by the date of use. For example, the variant forms of *green* in the Old English period (–1150) are ‘groeni, groene, grene, græne, grane’, by selecting the date of use from ‘Old English’ to ‘Old English’ in OED⁵ (green ADJECTIVE & NOUN¹, form).

3.2.2.2 Chinese corpora

The Center for Chinese Linguistics at Peking University corpus (CCL corpus) contains three sub-corpora: *Gudai hanyu* (lit. ancient Chinese), *Xianhai hanyu* (lit. modern Chinese) and *Hanying shuangyu* (lit. Chinese – English). The ancient part is chronologically staged by dynasties from the Zhou Dynasty to the early years of the Republic of China. The sub-corpus of ancient Chinese in CCL corpus contains nearly 0.4 billion bytes, including 18,898 Chinese characters of different glyphs. The sub-corpus of modern Chinese in CCL corpus contains nearly 1.2 billion bytes, including 10,645 Chinese characters of different glyphs, covering drama, spoken language, literature, Internet texts and exposition. The sub-corpus of Chinese – English contains 0.0716 billion bytes including 233,600 pairs of sentences that are translations between contemporary English and Chinese. Its data covers

⁵ https://www.oed.com/dictionary/green_adj?tab=forms#2423598 (Accessed: 10 February 2025)

exposition, literature and news. The sub-corpora of ancient Chinese and modern Chinese are used to investigate colour metaphors in Chinese throughout history.

The division of Chinese historical periods in this study is mainly according to the proposal of Wang (1957: 32–35) but the names of the periods correspond to the English division. The study uses the dynasties to define the historical period with the convenience of searching in the corpus, consisting of four periods: Old Chinese (OC), Middle Chinese (MC), Early Modern Chinese (EModC) and Late Modern Chinese (LModC). The date information of each Chinese ancient dynasty is informed according to *Dacidian (Dacidian Appendix and Index: 23–35)*. OC, MC and EModC are investigated in CCL. Its ancient Chinese sub-corpus and LModC is investigated in its modern Chinese sub-corpus. Table 3.6 shows the division of historical periods in Chinese, the dynasties and date information:

Table 3.6 The division of Chinese historical periods

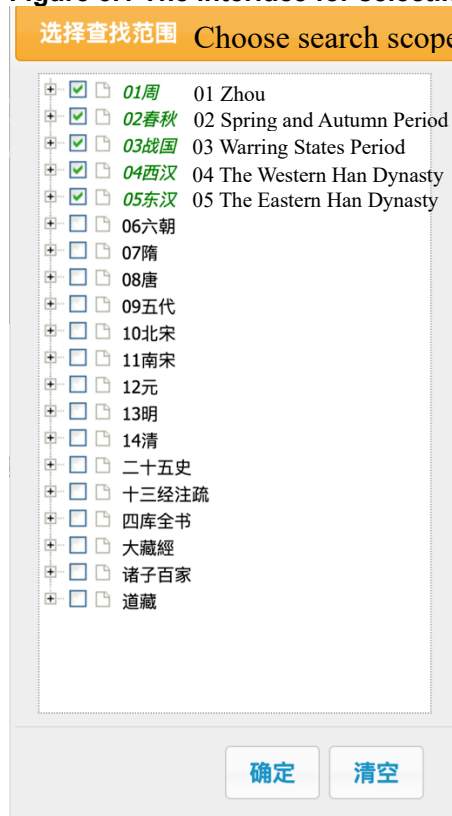
Historical period	Dynasty	Chronological period	Sub-corpora of CCL corpus
OC	Zhou Dynasty	11 century B.C.–781 B.C.	<i>Gudai Hanyu</i> (ancient Chinese)
	Spring and Autumn Period	770 B.C.–425 B.C.	
	Warring States Period	403 B.C.–227 B.C.	
	Western Han Dynasty	206 B.C.–8 A.D.	
	Eastern Han Dynasty	25–220	
MC	the Six Dynasties	220–587	
	Sui and Tang Dynasty	589–905	
	the Five Dynasties	907–960	
	Northern Song Dynasty	960–1127	
EModC	Southern Song Dynasty	1127–1278	
	Yuan Dynasty	1279–1341	
	Ming Dynasty	1368–1636	
	Qing Dynasty	1644–1909	
	Republic of China	1912–1917	
LModC	Modern China	1917–	<i>Xiandai Hanyu</i> (modern Chinese)

CCL corpus is chosen because it has wide historical coverage and provides a level of date information (it does not provide specific dates but different dynasties). The genre of each period in CCL corpus has different emphasis because the historical documents enlisted by CCL have different genre distributions in different dynasties, which reflects the change of dominant literary genres across historical periods to some extent. For OC, the collections are mainly philosophical texts, historical records, etc. For MC, the genres include Buddhist scriptures, fiction, poetry, jottings, *ci* poetry, *huaben* (vernacular short story books), etc. For EModC, the documents include drama, fiction, jottings, *huaben*, etc. For LModC, CCL covers drama, spoken language, literature, Internet texts and exposition. Although CCL

corpus cannot be regarded as balanced throughout history, especially for early historical periods, it contains a rich collection of multi-genre texts throughout history, which comprehensively describes the metaphor development of Chinese colour terms.

Another important reason for choosing CCL corpus is that it enables the user to select the scope of a corpus query. As for OC, MC and EModC, colour metaphors are investigated in four periods respectively by selecting different scopes of dynasties in chronological order. For example, metaphors in OC are investigated by the search result when selecting dynasties of Zhou, Spring and Autumn, Warring States and Eastern Han. LModC is investigated in the modern Chinese sub-corpus.

CCL corpus has a directory structure and filenames that indicate the chapter of the corpus, e.g. under the ‘Western Han’ directory, the corpus of documents from the Western Han period is stored. On the search scope selection page, all the document directories and filenames of CCL corpus are presented in a tree, allowing the user to expand each directory and its subdirectories until all the documents contained in that directory are listed, and to specify the inclusion of a particular directory or document in the search scope by ticking the boxes in front of the tree nodes. For example, Figure 3.1 shows the interface for selecting the scope of the corpus. The search field is checked: ‘01Zhou’, ‘02Spring and Autumn Period’, ‘03Warring States Period’, ‘04The Western Han Dynasty’ and ‘The Eastern Han Dynasty’. In this scope selection, the search results show the entries in OC.

Figure 3.1 The interface for selecting the scope

The diachronic investigation of Chinese colour metaphors is conducted by selecting the dynasties that fall within each historical period. By tracing the colour metaphors in four periods OC, MC, EModC and LModC, the development of the metaphorical meanings can be illustrated.

3.2.3 Process of collecting data and selecting examples

The rationale for collecting data from corpora and selecting typical examples that are presented in this study is to show the different stages in the continuum that moves from metonymy to metaphor of colour metaphors. This study collects metaphorical meanings of colour terms mainly from historical corpora with some supplements from the citations of dictionaries. The continuum from metonymy to metaphor for explaining the metaphor development of colour terms will be proposed as the findings of this thesis after investigating and analysing each colour metaphor, but an initial judgment of different degrees of metaphoricity of the colour terms in the metaphor development needed to be made when collecting data from the corpora. Based on previous studies (see 2.1.2.1 and 2.1.2.2), the continuum of colour metaphors is initially divided into three stages with increasing metaphoricity: metonymy (the colour term is literally used with connotation), transitional stages (it is ambiguous whether the colour term is literally used or metaphorically used), and metaphor (the colour term is metaphorically used) when

collecting and classifying the examples of colour terms in corpora. The low and high metaphoricity of colour metaphors is often judged by the conceptual distance of the figurative use of the colour term from its metonymic basis according to the contexts in the corpora. The detailed analysis and classification of the continuum is presented after the investigation of all the colour metaphors in 8.1. The contexts of corpora (including genre information) are read until the metaphorical interpretation, the possible motivation, and the metaphoricity of the use of colour terms are clear. However, due to the length limitation of this thesis, only the essential parts of the contexts are presented in the examples listed for each colour term, but the full detailed contexts are considered when collecting the data. In addition, sometimes the definitions and interpretations of the figurative use of colour terms in the dictionary are used as references when judging the metaphoricity.

The data collection of this thesis aims to explore different stages in the metaphorical development of colour terms throughout history, so the collections include expressions of colour terms from literal uses with connotations, metonymic uses, to metaphorical uses. This language evidence could show the continuum from literalness, metonymy to metaphor of colour terms. For example, some evidence of a colour term is retrieved from the Helsinki Corpus covering the Old English period because it shows that the colour term is literally used with connotations. This reveals that the metaphor development of the colour term is in the first stage. Some examples of the colour term in the corpora covering the Middle English period are collected because they show the use of the colour term to be ambiguous between the literal use and figurative use. This means the colour term is in the transitional stage of the metaphor development. Some evidence of the colour term in the corpora covering Late Modern English is retrieved, showing that the metaphorical meaning is fully developed. Thus, the metaphor development of this colour term is evidenced from literal use to metaphorical use throughout history, which is informed by the historical corpora.

In practice, in the early historical periods in English and Chinese, there are relatively few instances of the studied colour terms in the corpora. In the case that the examples of colour terms in the corpora are so few that they cannot show the early stage of metaphor development, citations of the colour terms in dictionaries are supplemented. In the latter historical periods, there are lots of entries of the studied colour terms in the corpora. When there are fewer than 500 entries for one historical period, all metaphorical meanings are manually collected. When there are more than 500 entries, a method of sampling is used. Sinclair (1991) provides a method of sampling:

A selection of about thirty examples was retrieved arbitrarily from a large corpus, and on this evidence, a tentative description was prepared. Then a second, similar set was retrieved and the description was adjusted accordingly. After several such trawls, each new one added little to the picture, and it was felt that most of the major patterns had been exemplified, and quite a few minor ones as well. (1991: 84)

Drawing on this method, a selection of fifty examples that are randomly retrieved and a tentative description of the metaphorical meanings of colour terms is prepared. The randomisation is made by the randomising function of CQP web or extracting the search results to the software Notepad++ and then using its 'randomize the line' option. Then, further similar sets are retrieved, and the description is modified until there is nothing to be adjusted.

In this way, the database of the metaphorical meanings of English and Chinese colour terms throughout history is established using historical periods supplemented by examples from dictionaries. Typical examples are chosen to represent the different stages of the metaphorical development and are presented in each historical period in analysis chapters. Serving the aim of classifying and analysing different stages in the metaphor development, examples are ordered to show the increasing metaphoricity (that is, from less metaphorical to more metaphorical in the continuum from literalness, metonymy to metaphor).

3.3 Outline of Chapter 4 to Chapter 7

The analysis and presentation of each colour term in Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 have the same structure. Firstly, the equivalence of the English and Chinese colour terms is discussed at the beginning of each chapter. Then English and Chinese colour terms are discussed in the same way: 1) etymological metonymy and cultural connotations are explored to find the starting points of metaphorical development of colour terms; 2) metaphorical meanings in four historical periods are discussed, which show the diachronic development; 3) a summary is shown by a table of metaphorical meanings and a figure of metaphorical conceptualisation of the colour term. The metaphorical development of colour terms is analysed in the process from metonymy to metaphor. Finally, English and Chinese colour terms are compared.

The examples of each colour term are firstly classified and analysed in the divided historical periods. This aims to show the whole metaphor development of each metaphorical sense after investigating colour terms through Old English/Chinese, Middle

English/Chinese, Early Modern English/Chinese, Late Modern English/Chinese. Usually, the metaphoricity increases in later historical periods from the early historical periods. Metaphor development could also happen within one period, so examples listed in each period are ordered from less metaphorical to more metaphorical to represent different stages in metaphor development with increasing metaphoricity as mentioned in 3.2.3.

The analysis of each colour term (sub-section ‘summary’ under each colour term) is structured in three parts. The summary starts from a list of all the metaphorical meaning of one colour term and their development through historical periods and then a table is used to summarise the metaphorical meanings information of the colour term. For the design of the table, the columns present the metaphorical meanings and also the connotations that have the potential to develop metaphorical meanings, domains of the metaphorical meanings and the occurrence in four historical periods. For English colour terms, bold form of the historical periods is used to indicate that this metaphorical meaning is found in the corpora, If the metaphorical meaning is only provided in the corpora but not shown on OED, HTE and MM, a plus mark is added in front of it. For Chinese colour terms there is no bold form in the historical periods to make the distinguishment because the investigation of Chinese colour terms mainly depends on the corpus. The domain names are adopted from MM.

Based on the list and table, a figure is used to show the cause of routes taken during the development of metaphorical meanings. The figure is designed as a network with (1) the colour term in the centre, (2) the metonymic bases in square shape around the colour term, (3) the connotations in dashed circles connected with the metonymic bases by solid lines, (4) block arrows (indicating generalisation) from the connotation towards target domains in circles, and (5) dashed line leads from connotation to metaphorical meanings. Generally, the starting point is the metonymy whose connotations are still in the domain of the metonymy. The dashed circles indicate connotations are in the same domain of the metonymic bases. The connotation that generalised into other distinct domains from the domain of the metonymy and the connotations, which are shown by the block arrow and the target domain in circles, signalling the metaphorical meaning are fully developed, the dashed lines point to the metaphorical meanings. The design of the tables and the figures that show the results is explained in detail in Chapter 4.

By investigating the development and the motivations of colour metaphors in both English and Chinese, the comparison of them could reveal the reasons for the similarities and differences.

3.4 Summary

In order to compare the colour metaphors in English and Chinese and explore the reasons for the similarities and differences, the present study investigates a selection of colour terms (five pairs of colour terms with the same etymological metonymies and three pairs of colour terms with different etymological metonymies) using a corpus-based diachronic method.

The rationale for collecting data and selecting typical examples is to unravel how the process moves from metonymy to metaphor in the metaphor development of colour terms. The data collection of English starts by consulting OED, HTE, TOE, and MM, which enables us to create a timeline of emerging metaphors. Then the evolution of conceptual colour metaphors is examined and complemented by six historical corpora HC, PCEEC, EEBO V2 & V3, ARCHER 2019, CLMET3.1 and BNC. As for Chinese colour terms, ancient dictionaries *Shuowen*, *Ziyuan* and *Shiming* are consulted for the etymologies of the colour terms. *Dacidian* is used to explore the metaphorical meanings of colour terms in the first stage, and CCL is used to investigate colour terms through history.

The results are expected to show (1) the historical development of all metaphorical meanings of each colour term and the motivations for them; (2) the comparison results of each pair of English and Chinese colour terms and the reasons for the similarities and differences. The diachronic and corpus-based method contributes to (1) exploring metaphor development of colour terms (especially the role of metonymy), and (2) analysing the experiential motivations for colour metaphors, especially by providing the contexts of figurative use of colour terms and the cultural background in a certain historical period.

Chapter 4 *Green* and *qing/lv*

The universal colour category GREEN is encoded in the colour term *green* (which has variant forms in history) in English. Chinese encodes GREEN in the colour term *qing* (青) in early Old Chinese and then *qing* is gradually replaced by the colour term *lv* (绿). In modern Chinese, *lv* is one of the basic terms and *qing* is rarely used as an individual colour term. Thus, in order to investigate the metaphorical meanings of terms in the GREEN category through time, both *qing* and *lv* are studied as the Chinese counterparts of *green*. In this chapter, 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 will discuss *green*, *qing* and *lv* respectively. 4.4 presents the comparison of *green* and *qing/lv*.

4.1 *Green*

4.1.1 presents the etymological metonymy and connotations of *green*, aiming to explore the starting points of metaphorical development. 4.1.2 to 4.1.5 each begins with a summary of *green* metaphors shown in OED, HTE, TOE and MM, which are examined and supplemented by corpus data in the following discussion of each metaphorical meaning that occurs in the period. The source of the corpus data is given as ‘corpus name; date; title; author’. If there is no corpus evidence, but OED gives examples under a certain metaphorical meaning, OED examples are adopted and cited as ‘OED; date’. 4.1.6 summarises the metaphorical meanings and the metaphorical development of *green*.

4.1.1 Etymological metonymy and cultural connotations

According to OED (s.v. *green*, ADJECTIVE & NOUN¹), *green* refers to the colour of growing vegetation, grass, foliage, etc. It is a word inherited from Germanic deriving from the Germanic base of ‘grow’, and the colour’s associations with freshness, rawness, newness, health, and vitality are widespread among the Germanic languages such as Old Frisian, Middle Dutch, and Old High German. Given that the etymological metonymy of *green* is plants, it is shown that *green* has connotations related to the attributes of plants (freshness, rawness, vitality, etc.) when it originates.

The experiential basis of the etymological metonymy gives rise to connotations, which are the starting points of the metaphorical development of colour terms. The experiential basis of plants associates the colour with other qualities of plants, so the qualities can be indicated by the green colour. These qualities are likely to develop into metaphorical

meanings of *green*. For example, the green colour of a fruit or plant usually indicates it is young, unripe, has moisture, is fresh and not ready to eat according to our experience. These associates give rise to the polysemy of *green* when describing plants, which means that *green* not only refers to the colour but also to other qualities such as unripeness. When unripeness is distinct from the domain of PLANT, indicated by describing the immaturity of a person (*greenhorn*), it becomes a metaphorical use of *green*.

According to qualities in plants that are indicated by the colour green as listed by OED, the present study assumes that four connotations of the plants: youth (unripe, having moisture, fresh and not ready to eat), rawness (not prepared or treated), newness (unaltered by time), and vitality are the starting points of metaphorical development.

Green has another metonymy of skin in the Old English period. The colour of skin usually has the connotation of a health condition. *Green* may develop a metaphorical meaning related to health conditions based on the metonymy of skin. OED indicates that the greenish complexion is taken as a sign of illness and a typical example is *green sickness* (or *green jaundice*). The Hippocratic humoral theory contains the earliest descriptions of jaundice. Papavramidou et al. (2007: 1728) claim that Hippocratic physicians did not perform dissection and their medical views were based on observation. They investigate five types of jaundice in the Hippocratic Corpus. The skin of the patients that have the first type of jaundice is green, 'greener than green lizards' (Potter 1988, as cited in Papavramidou et al. 2007). The second, third and fourth types have the yellowish or pale-yellow colour of skin. The fifth type has the ashen colour of skin.

Yellowish and greenish complexion as an important factor regarding the diagnosis and prognosis of jaundice explains why a form of jaundice is called green sickness. Moreover, as Papavramidou et al. claim, it is hard for anyone to distinguish yellowish, green or just pale skin colour, so the green complexion can be extended to a pale or sickly complexion. It is believed that skin colour is commonly associated with health conditions, according to medical tradition and human experience. Thus, based on the metonymy of skin whose colour has a connotation of health conditions, *green*, which refers to a pale or sickly complexion, indicates ill health.

4.1.2 Old English

According to OED, HTE, TOE and MM, in OE, *green* has one connotation that will develop into the metaphorical meaning of Youth (OED, II.5) in later periods, and two metaphorical meanings of Newness (s.v. *green*, *adj.* and *n.*¹ ADJECTIVE II.7) and Rawnness (II.6). Since the connotation of youth does not develop a metaphorical meaning in OE, it is bracketed in the subtitle of 4.1.2.1. Newness and Rawnness are discussed in 4.1.2.2 and 4.1.2.3.

4.1.2.1 (youth)

In the domain of *green*'s etymological metonymy of growing plants, the colour green indicates young plants characterised by tenderness, unripeness, freshness, retaining moisture. With this connotation, the meaning of *green* becomes polysemous. For example:

- (1) Wið earena sar genim þære ylcan wyrte leaf þonne heo **grenost** beo [L. *herbae recentis folia*]. (OED; OE)

Here, 'grenost' indicates newly growing plants, which is illustrated by 'herbae recentis folia'. *Green* referring to youth of plants concentrates on the characteristics (softness and tenderness etc.) that plants have in their early life stage. It is based on the observation that plants are in colour green when they are young but change to other colours (such as leaves turning yellow) when they are old. In (1), there are two interpretations: 1) 'grenost' is used as its literal meaning of the colour green, or 2) 'grenost' is used to express the youth of plants, while the colour green is not focused. The ambiguity is caused because *green* is used in the domain of plants where the literal meaning of the colour green and the connotation of youth both exist.

4.1.2.2 Newness

Green's connotation of the youth of plants indicates vegetation that is unaltered by time or natural processes. This connotation is extended to the metaphorical meanings of Newness, which emphasises relative time or condition rather than the life cycle. For example:

- (2) Gif se maga aþunden sie oþþe aþened, genim þæs selestan wines & **grenes** eles swilc healf, seoþ wermodes croppan, do on hnesce wulle, smire mid. (OED; eOE)

(2) shows the metaphorical use of *green* because *green* metaphorically refers to fresh oil.

4.1.2.3 Rawness

The colour green has the connotation of rawness, indicating plants that have not been prepared or treated. OED provides examples of *green* referring to uncooked vegetables:

- (3) Si me expellitis a uestro collegio, manducabitis holera uestra uiridia, et carnes uestras crudas: gif ge me ut adrifaþ fram eowrum geferscype, ge etaþ wyrta eowre **grene**, & flæscmettas eowre hreawe. (OED; OE)

It is assumed that *green* has this extended meaning because of the observation that when vegetables are not dried or are uncooked, many are green in colour, while when they are cooked, their colour changes. When *green* in this sense is used to describe plants, it is ambiguous whether the colour green is literally or metaphorically used. However, *green* is used to express the connotation of rawness rather than the colour green. The present study suggests that *green* is metaphorically used in the case where the semantic highlight of *green* is the connotation rather than the colour, but its metaphoricity is relatively low.

As the metaphoricity develops, this connotation gradually detaches itself from the green plants to indicate other things that are raw and untreated, and importantly not in the colour green. OED provides such an example:

- (4) Recentis corii: noui, **grenre** hyde. (OED; OE)

(4) uses *green* to describe raw animal skin which is not exactly green in colour. Only when the referent is not green in colour can we be sure that *green* metaphorically refers to the state of being untreated/raw rather than to the colour. This kind of extension indicates Rawness is independent of PLANT since it can be generalised to the concept of UNDERTAKING distinct from PLANT.

4.1.3 Middle English

According to OED, HTE and MM, in ME, the connotation of youth develops into a metaphorical meaning of Youth (OED, ADJECTIVE II.10) in this period, which is discussed in 4.1.3.1. *Green* has two continuously used but developing metaphorical meanings of Newness and Rawness, which are discussed in 4.1.3.2 and 4.1.3.3. There are three emerging metaphorical meanings of Vitality (ADJECTIVE II.9), Immaturity (ADJECTIVE II.8), and Ill Health (ADJECTIVE I.3). They are discussed in 4.1.3.4, 4.1.3.5 and 4.1.3.6.

4.1.3.1 Youth

In OE, *green* referring to the youth of plants is a connotation but not a metaphorical use. In this period, *green* with this connotation develops into a metaphorical use referring to the youth of human beings, describing a person who is not advanced in years. This metaphorical meaning is not found in HC, but the OED provides some examples.

(5) Johan duc of Bedforde..in his **grene** age was lieutenaunt of the marchis.
(OED; c1475)

(6) The childeren were tendre and **grene**. (OED; a1500)

In (5), *green* is used to describe the abstract concept of age. (6) shows that children are compared to young plants by indicating the qualities of tenderness and greenness. The early stage of the life cycle of plants is mapped onto the early time of human life based on the observation of plants and human life. *Green* is the quality that plants have at a young age, so it indicates young and tender fruits or plants, which is mapped onto human beings to describe those people who are young in age. Thus, the metaphorical meaning of Youth (of human beings) is developed from the connotation of the youth of plants.

4.1.3.2 Newness

This metaphorical use is shown to refer to wounds (e.g. 7), wine (e.g. 8), oil (e.g. 9), milk (e.g. 10) etc. in this period. For example:

(7) To winchestre he was ilad al mid is **grene** wounde. (OED; c1325)

(8) This wyne is ouyr **grene** [printed greue] thatt is ryper. (OED; 1483)

(9) His Host set before him..olde ranke oile in steed of **greene**, sweet, & fresh.
(OED; 1606)

(10) For a Chylde, which hath beene misfostered, by sucking in corrupted Milke, you know, that healthsome **greene** Milke is the best Restoratiue. (OED; 1627)

Green in these sentences metaphorically refers to newness and freshness.

4.1.3.3 Rawness

In ME, this metaphorical meaning continued to be used to refer to unseasoned wood (e.g. 11), raw meat or fish in ME (e.g. 12, 13), undried clay or bricks in EModE (e.g. 14), and unbleached cloth in LModE (e.g. 15):

- (11) Ðe seuendai e[f]t [MS est] ut it tog, And brogt a **grene** oliues bog. (OED; a1325 (c1250))
- (12) Also, no man ne may bygge leper grene ne skyn **grene** in þe towun, but 3if he be of fraunchyse. (OED; a1400)
- (13) Item, for **grene** Fissh, vj d. (OED; 1425)
- (14) Some there be who take file-dust of lead, put the same in an earthen pot of **greene** potters clay, set the same into an ouen, and so let it calcine therein vntill such time as the pot be well and througly baked. (OED; 1601)
- (15) No Unbleached Cloths, called **Green** Cloths, shall be brought to any Market or Fair, or shall be sold or exposed to Sale, otherwise than in the Folds and no ways tied. (OED; 1727)

Rawness detaches itself from PLANT to indicate other things that are raw and untreated so *green* metaphorically refers to the state of being untreated/raw rather than to the colour, showing that this metaphorical meaning is fully developed.

4.1.3.4 Immaturity

In this period, *green* has the connotation of immaturity, which develops from the connotation of youth and rawness of plants based on the common observation that they may be *green* when they are unripe and become other colours when they attain maturity. For example:

- (16) Mani appel is uten **grene**, briht on beme, & biter wiþ-innen. (OED; a1250)
- (17) Som fruyt þerof is rype, and som **grene** and sour. (OED; a1398)

(16) describes a green apple as immature and unready to eat by illustrating the flavour is ‘biter’ (bitter). *Green* is compared to ‘rype’ (ripe) in (17) showing it is metaphorically used to refer to being unripe. ‘Sour’ also indicates that *green* means the fruits are unready and immature to eat. Both these sentences show that the fruits are unripe and imply that they are unready to eat (the flavours are bitter and sour). Thus, the connotation of immaturity

refers to unripe fruits that are not ready for humans to reap or eat, deriving from the connotation of youth of plants because young fruits are unripe and unready to reap and eat.

This connotation of immaturity fully develops into a metaphorical meaning of Immaturity when green is used to describe an immature and undeveloped thought, plan, etc. For example:

(18) He spekeþ wordes **grene**, Ar þen hoe ben ripe. (OED; ?a1300)

(19) Þe obeysaunce þat he had in þe reme of Fraunce..was right tendre, right yong and **grene**. (OED; 1433)

In (18), *green* is used to describe the words as undeveloped. *Green* in its metaphorical sense of immaturity is used to describe the immaturity of obeisance in (19).

4.1.3.5 Vitality

Green has the connotation of vitality because the colour green indicates the vigorous and flourishing growth of plants, based on the observation that green and young plants grow vigorously. HC provides an example of flourishing plants:

(20) And the gardyn is always **grene** florissching, all the cesouns of the 3eer als wel in winter as in somer. (HC; 1350–1420; Mandeville's Travels)

Indicated by 'florissching', it is clear that *green* has the connotation of vitality. This connotation is characterised by the ability of continuing to exist or the power of enduring. Based on this attribute, *green* is metaphorically used to describe vitality in connection with abstractions, for example:

(21) þet is a grace þet bedeawep þe herte and makeþ his zuete and reuþeuol. and makeþ his al become **grene** / and berþ yno3 frut of guode workes wyþ-oute and wyþ-inne erþe / strengþi his rote ine þe erþe of libbende. (HC; 1340; Ayenbite of Inwyt; Michel, Dan)

(22) For evere it is aliche **grene**, The grete love which I have. (OED; 1393)

In (21), *grene* could possibly refer to the vigour of 'the gift of pity'. In (22), *grene* metaphorically describes that the memory of the love is enduring.

4.1.3.6 Ill Health

As mentioned in 4.1.1, *green* generally refers to the colour of a sickly and pale complexion, and it does not need to be the actual colour green, especially in the phrases *green and wan* and *green and pale*. Thus, using *green* to describe ill health of people may be a non-literal meaning, for example:

(23) The duke..waxed pale and **grene** as a lefe. (OED; 1525)

The translation of this sentence could be ‘The duke became pale and green as a leaf.’ *Green* here can either be regarded as its literal meaning, in which it describes the literal green colour of the duke and this colour indicates the connotation of ill health, or be regarded as a figurative expression (since people are not strictly as green as leaves), in which it does not refer to the colour green but a metaphorical use of Ill Health. The present study takes this kind of situation as a metaphorical use. Even if *green* is interpreted as the literal meaning, the semantic highlight in the expression is its connotation of ill health rather than the green colour. The difference between this case and fully developed metaphorical meanings discussed before such as newness, rawness, youth etc. is whether the literal sense of the colour term is totally blocked. For example, in the phrases *green oil*, *green skin*, *green age*, the literal interpretation of *green* is blocked according to our common sense, so the metaphorical senses of newness, rawness and youth are interpreted. This also explains why the metaphoricity of Ill Health is less than that of newness, rawness and youth.

4.1.4 Early Modern English

According to OED, HTE and MM, in EModE, six metaphorical meanings of Youth, Newness, Rawness, Immaturity, Vitality and Ill Health continue to be used, and three metaphorical meanings of Inexperience (OED, ADJECTIVE II.8.c), Naivety (ADJECTIVE II.8.d.) and Jealousy (*Phrases* P.8.) emerge. Corpora contain evidence of Youth, Newness, Immaturity, Vitality, Ill Health, Inexperience and Naivety in this period.

Youth, Rawness and Ill Health are used as the previous periods, so they are not discussed. Newness, Vitality and Immaturity have new developments in this period, which are discussed in 4.1.4.1, 4.1.4.2 and 4.1.4.3. The new-emerging metaphorical meanings of Inexperience and Naivety are discussed together in 4.1.4.4 since they are on the same path of development. Jealousy is discussed in 4.1.4.5.

4.1.4.1 Newness

Newness is continuously used in this period. There are examples in the corpora:

- (24) For the olde doe heate to much, and the new Wines as long as they are **greene**, or very new, heat nothing at all [...] (HC; 1500–1570; A Book of Wines; Turner, William)
- (25) The same dried and made into powder, & strewn vp o wounds, doth heal and make sound them that are new or **green**, and cleanses the old and rotten wounds. (EEBO V3; 1578; A nievve herball; Dodoens, Rembert)
- (26) I say the Moon is made of **green** Cheese; [...] Behold your Virgins afflicted with the **green** Sickness, they are said to look green, when they are in verity white; We call Cheese **green**, yet who is such a Goose as doth not perceive them to be many times grey; Meat is said to be **green** roasted, when it is all over red with blood; And all the World that knows what **green** Fish is, knows it to be white. And thus the Moon being either red, grey, or white, may properly be said to be **green** (ARCHER 2019; 1661; Don Juan Lamberto; Flatman, Thomas)

(24) and (25) shows that *green* continues to refer to the newness and freshness of wine and wound. *Green wine* is a kind of wine that is not matured or mellowed by age. A *green* wound is a new wound. Neither is really green in colour. *Green cheese* is not *green* as (26) says. It is a fresh and not dried or aged cheese. (26) also mentions to green meat, green fish and green moon, which are not green in colour. Therefore, these two sentences both show the metaphorical meaning of Newness.

4.1.4.2 Vitality

As mentioned in 4.1.3.5, Vitality derives from the connotation of flourishing and vigorous growth of plants. The corpora show examples in which *green* is used with flourishing in this period:

- (27) [...] how we longe for the springe of our hopes in the approach of our sonne which will make all things **greene** and flourishinge at Hatfielde and Otes [...] (PCEEC; 1558?; William Masham, Joan Barrington)
- (28) That our sons may be as plants grown in their youth. Well planted, well rooted, **green** and flourishing. Which is the first happiness of any family. (EEBO V3; 1660; David's harp strung and tuned; Nicholson, William)

In (27), *green* is used to describe the vigorous state of things. In (28), the growth of plants is compared to the growth of human beings. The green and flourishing condition of plants

is used to describe the vigour and liveliness of people in youth. This shows that green with the connotation of the vitality of plants is extended to describe abstracts or human beings.

There are two aspects of the connotation of vitality in this period. Firstly, the vitality is characterised by the power of enduring when *green* is used to describe abstract concepts (see 4.1.3.5) and the human body.

(29) Thus I stood sole atwene death & diffame, My body corrupt, my spyrite abode
clean, My spousayle broken, and my good name For ever disclaundred, y
meanwhile shone shene: Yuell fame of custom will always wax **green**, Never
die, the people so them disport. (EEBO V3; 1664; Moffet-well, or, A
topographico-spagyricall description of the minerall wells, at Moffet in
Annandale of Scotland; Mackaile, Matthew)

(30) Their freshe and **greene** bodyes. (OED; 1577)

(29) shows that *green* metaphorically refers to the abstract concept of fame. (30) shows that *green* in its metaphorical meaning of Vitality also describes the living body, which is characterised by the livelihood of the human body (ADJECTIVE II.9.b.).

Secondly, the vitality is characterised by the vigour and liveliness (NOUN 2.c.) of human beings, for example:

(31) Like Cedar high And like Date-bearing tree, For **greene**, and growth the
iust shall be. (OED; c1595)

In (31), *green* metaphorically refers to a person's vigour, youthfulness and vitality. What is important is that the context indicates vigorous youth is compared to plants ('Date-bearing tree'), which confirms that the flourishing and vitality in plants' growth is mapped onto the vigour, youthfulness and vitality of a person.

Thus, *green* in this sense is mapped onto the domain of DURATION and MANNER OF ACTION in this period. Nevertheless, the core characteristic of the metaphorical use is vitality, so the metaphorical sense of *green* is called Vitality.

4.1.4.3 Immaturity

Immaturity is continuously used to describe a thought or a plan that is not fully developed and elaborated as in the previous period. For example:

- (32) Shee was very ripe and measured in counsayle and experience, as well not to lett goe ocasioness, as not to take them when they were **greene**. (HC; 1570–1640; Annals of the First Four Years of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; Hayward, John)

In (32), *green* is metaphorically used to describe the ‘ocasioness’ as immature and undeveloped. It also implies that the ripe or unripe condition of plants has a metaphorical connection with the immaturity of humans.

In this period, the metaphorical sense of Immaturity is used to describe a person’s capacity as immature and raw, for example:

- (33) It was so sir, for she had a **greene** wit. (OED; 1598)

- (34) As they were young of yeeres and age, they should also bee **greene** of sense and judgment. (OED; 1585)

(33) and (34) show that green wit, sense and judgment refer to immature and untrained powers or capacities. *Green* here is used in its metaphorical meaning of Immaturity.

4.1.4.4 Inexperience, Naivety

In this period, *green* develops the metaphorical meanings of Inexperience and Naivety. In the etymological metonymy of plants, the connotation of youth is associated with another connotation of unripeness, based on the experience that greenness characterises the unripeness and unreadiness of plants. With these two associated connotations, *green* is mapped onto domains related to human beings and develops metaphorical meanings, so *green* metaphorically indicates the youth of human beings and the immaturity of a person since the youth of a person suggests her/his immaturity as well. When the sense of immaturity is used to describe a person, *green* develops the metaphorical meaning of Inexperience when it is mapped onto the domain of ABILITY, and the metaphorical meaning of Naivety when it is mapped onto the domain of LACK OF UNDERSTANDING. Here are examples of Inexperience and Naivety:

- (35) [...] I confesse I am but a **greene** housewife, and one that hath but small tryall in the world, therefore I should bee verie glad to learne any thing that were for my husbands profite, and my commoditie. (HC; 1570–1640; Jack of Newbury; Deloney, Thomas)

- (36) You're **green**, your credulous; easy to be blinded. (OED; 1605)

In (35), the context indicates that *green* here refers to inexperience, which is a deficiency of ability. Rather, *green* in (36) indicates a deficiency of wisdom, which shows that it is the metaphorical meaning of Naivety.

Similar to the way *green*'s connotation of the young plant is associated with connotations of unripeness and unreadiness, the youth of human beings is associated with the immaturity of a person because a short lifetime commonly leads to a lack of experience according to common sense. The underlying conceptualisation in being young is being inexperienced and/or naive. There is an example showing the association between youth and naivety:

- (37) [...] I was not at all tainted with them, whether my blooming age were yet too **green** and innocent, or that I were reserved to some more rugged Fate. (ARCHER 2019; 1664; The History of Merame; Bulteel, John)

In (37), *green* refers to young age. 'I was not at all tainted with them' means the person is inexperienced in some terrible things, because she/he is young ('my blooming age were yet too green and innocent'). *Innocent* is used with *green* also showing that humans when they are young lack experience.

According to the dates and the semantic development, it is assumed that the connotation of the youth of plants derives and motivates the Youth of human beings and Immaturity, and then the Youth of human beings and Immaturity motivate Inexperience and Naivety.

4.1.4.5 Jealousy

In this period, *green* is associated with jealousy, which may originate from Shakespeare. According to the citation of this figurative meaning in OED, 'green-eyed jealousy' is first used in Shakespeare's play *The Merchant of Venice* in 1600:

- (38) Shyddring feare, and **greene**-eyed iealousie. (OED; 1600)

No clue is given here to explain why it is *green* that stands for Jealousy, but this figurative usage is widely used after Shakespeare.

4.1.5 Late Modern English

According to OED, HTE and MM, in LModE, eight metaphorical meanings continue to be used in this period: Youth, Newness, Rawness, Immaturity, Vitality, Ill Health, Inexperience, and Naivety. There are four emerging metaphorical meanings of Simpleton (OED, NOUN 1.c.), Emotions (ADJECTIVE 1.3.), Environmentalism (III.13.a.), Politics (III.13.a.), Permission (ADJECTIVE 1.4.a.). Corpora provide evidence of Youth, Newness, Immaturity, Vitality, Ill Health, Inexperience, Naivety, Simpleton, Environmentalism, Politics and Emotions in this period. In addition, corpora show a metaphorical meaning of Safety, Non-Pollution, High Quality, and connotations of gardening skill and evil, which are not shown in OED, HTE and MM.

Newness, Rawness and Immaturity continue to be used as in previous periods, so they are not discussed. Ill Health, Vitality have new developments in this period, so they are discussed in 4.1.5.1 and 4.1.5.2. Youth, Inexperience, Naivety and newly emerging metaphorical meaning of Simpleton are discussed together in 4.1.5.3 since they are on the same path of development. The emerging metaphorical meanings of Fear and Jealousy (both emotions) are discussed in 4.1.5.4. Environmentalism and Environmentalist Political parties are discussed together in 4.1.5.5. Permission, and Safety, Non-pollution and High Quality are discussed in 4.1.5.6 and 4.1.5.7. The connotations of gardening skill and evil are discussed in 4.1.5.8 and 4.1.5.9.

4.1.5.1 Ill Health

This metaphorical meaning is continuously used from Old English to this period and beyond. *Green* usually refers to a sickly and pale complexion due to sickness.

- (39) “What’s wrong with you, Harve? You act all quiet and you look **greenish**. Feelin’ sick?” (CLMET3.1; 1897; Captains Courageous; Kipling, Rudyard)
- (40) Then I saw the colour of your face, and I stopped laughing. You were **green**. I thought you might not make it then, and I really felt sad for you. (BNC; 1993; Luckier and Tiffany peel out; Mildmay, Eroica)

In (39) and (40), *green* can either indicate an actual greenish colour of skin or refer to a sick appearance due to sickness.

4.1.5.2 Vitality

Green's metaphorical meaning of Vitality is mainly used to refer to enduring abstract concepts like memory (in the domain of DURATION), and vigorous growth or youth (in the domain of MANNER OF ACTION) in this period. For example:

- (41) [...] only the **greener** mind, in these days, need read. (CLMET3.1; 1837; The French Revolution; Carlyle, Thomas)
- (42) [...] His memory of this classic outbreak of overload remained **green** when he was compiling his memoirs six years later (BNC; 1990; Cabinet; Hennessy, Peter)
- (43) [...] let a man's fame be never so **green** and flourishing, (repeat) unless he can secure a dull age to come after him. (CLMET3.1; 1846; Stories from the Italian Poets, with Lives of the Writers; Leigh Hunt, James Henry)

In (41), (42) and (43), *green* metaphorically indicates that mind, memory and fame are fresh. The vigorous state of plants is mapped onto the manner of human action to describe the liveliness and youthfulness of humans. For example:

- (44) And happy man is his dole who retains in grave years, and even to grey hairs, enough of **green** youth's redundant spirits for such excursiveness! (CLMET3.1; 1829; Sir Thomas More, or Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society; Southey, Robert)
- (45) [...] '**green**' old age when men could still work well, the 'full, mature' or 'good old age' of the retirement years, and a last stage of extreme, 'sickly, decrepit, ever growing old age.' [...] (BNC; 1990; I don't feel old: the experience of later life; Abendstern, Michele, Thompson, Paul and Itzin, Cathy)
- (46) This would, indeed, be almost a restoration of my youth, at least of a **green** old age full of enjoyment. (BNC; 1825–32; The journal of Sir Walter Scott; Scott, Walter)

In (44), *green* means vigorous and energetic youth. (45) and (46) show a frequently used phrase 'green old age', in which green refers to the vigorousness and liveness of youth. This phrase means one who still has liveliness and youthfulness in her/his old age.

4.1.5.3 Youth, Inexperience, Naivety, Simpleton

Youth, Inexperience and Naivety are continuously used in this period with evidence found in corpora. Examples of Youth are:

- (47) [...] I should not send thee a child to bring thee charge [...] He is yet **green**, and may grow strait, if he be carefully tended, otherwise apt enough to follow his father's folly. (CLMET3.1; 1753; The lives of the poets of Great Britain and Ireland; Cibber, Theophilus)
- (48) [...] and the complaisance ever consorting with an age so **green** and so gay, will make so inexperienced a lady at least forbear to show herself disgusted at freedoms of discourse in which those present of her own sex, and some of ours [...] (CLMET3.1; 1748; Clarissa; Richardson, Samuel)
- (49) [...] and they admired his martial aspect, his **green** and vigorous age of more than fourscore years [...] (CLMET3.1; 1776; The decline and fall of the Roman Empire; Gibbon, Edward)
- (50) [...] when the yellow hastens on the **green** of life [...] (CLMET3.1; 1832; Eugene Aram; Bulwer-Lytton, Edward George)

(47) shows humans at a young age are easily influenced. In (48) and (49), *green* refers to a young age that is also full of vigour. (50) shows the mapping of green plants to the youth of humans (while yellow plants represent old age), which supports the explanation in 4.1.3.3.

- (51) I'm so **green**, and don't know how to pick up jobs like they do. Achmet, who is half his size, orders him about and teaches him, with an air of extreme dignity and says pityingly to me, 'You see, oh Lady, he is quite new, quite **green**.' (CLMET3.1; 1890; In Darkest England, and the Way Out; Booth, William)

(51) shows that *green* metaphorically refers to being Inexperienced according to the context.

- (52) [...] I am not the same person that I was when Morgan died. But I am more like Morgan's wife now than I am like the **green** girl he married on January 31, 1929. (ARCHER 2019; 1973; Being seventy: The measure of a year. G. K. Hall (1978); Vining, Elizabeth Gray)
- (53) Lord, Ellie, but it was a long time ago, and what a **green** girl I was. Fresh over from Ireland, and I thought it would be so easy to find a little office job -- typing, filing. (BNC; 1993; Love of my heart; Richmond, Emma)
- (54) [...] even pretty little McAllister has her secrets. Not so young and **green**, after all. (BNC; 1985–1993; An American princess)
- (55) I know that drink makes men... irresponsible. I am not so young and **green** that I am unaware of that. (BNC; 1993; An American princess; Marshall, Paula)

In (52) – (55), *green* refers to Naivety. These sentences also show the association between Youth and Naivety by using ‘young and green’. When the metaphorical meaning of Naivety becomes more negative, *green* refers to a person who is gullible and a simpleton, and it develops the metaphorical meaning of Simpleton. For example:

- (56) In a word, I did not go up with the Nassau, because I could not come down with the dust, and though I always had “**Green** in my eye,” (CLMET3.1; 1841; Punch, Vol.1)
- (57) Sir knight, ere I trust thee, look hither and say, Do you see any **green** in my eye? (CLMET3.1; 1841; Puch, Vol.1)
- (58) Anne felt that she considered her a **green** fool, [...] (BNC; 1985–1993; A nest of singing birds)

(56) and (57) show an expression of ‘see any green in one’s eye’, which means to detect any indication of inexperience and gullibility. In (58), *green* is used to describe ‘fool’, which shows its metaphorical meaning of Simpleton.

4.1.5.4 Fear, Jealousy

According to the OED, *green* is indicative of fear and envy because of the green colour of complexion. The corpora provide an example of fear:

- (59) [...] we’re scared **green** we’ll never get another one as long as we live. (BNC; 1938; Susan and God; Crothers, Rachel)

(59) shows that a *green* complexion is caused by the emotion of fear.

Green’s figurative association with jealousy is widely used in this period. *Green-eyed* is metaphorically used to describe jealousy. The corpora give some examples:

- (60) Mr. Paull not having the slightest idea of the working of the **green-eyed** monster, jealousy [...] (CLMET3.1; 1820–1822; Memoirs of Henry Hunt; Hunt, Henry)
- (61) [...] to make men’s heads turn and women’s eyes grow **green** with envy [...] (BNC; 1992; Lover’s charade; Elliot, Rachel)

The corpora provide evidence showing that *green* also has metaphorical meanings of referring to other emotions that are Sadness and Gaiety. Sadness is accompanied by *yellow* in (62):

- (62) [...] with a **green** and yellow melancholy, She sat like patience on a monument, Smiling at grief. (BNC; 1764; *Twelfth Night*, Act 2, Scene 4.; William Shakespeare)

Here green and yellow melancholy is used to describe Viola ('she' in the sentence) in *Twelfth Night*. Matsuda (2013) explains that the symptoms in the description of Viola in (62) are appropriate for melancholic lovers including greensickness in the Elizabethan literature. The melancholic lovers have pale and discoloured skin because of greensickness. Thus, *green and yellow* is metaphorically used to describe melancholy possibly due to the association between the emotion of melancholy and pale and discoloured complexion.

Despite the negative emotions above, green also indicates the positive meaning of Gaiety. When *green* is used with plants collectively, it refers to Gaiety. For example:

- (63) Our peasants are like their mountains, rich in grace and **green** gaiety, but with the fires beneath. (CLMET3.1; 1914; *The Wisdom of Father Brown*; Chesterton, Gilbert Keith)

(63) compares peasants to their mountains, in which sense *green* is associated with gaiety. The gaiety that 'our peasants' have in this example is like the joyful emotion that flourishing and green mountains bring.

To sum up, the corpora demonstrate that *green* has metaphorical meanings for four kinds of emotions: Fear, Jealousy, Sadness and Gaiety. *Green* has the metaphorical meaning of Fear because of the colour of the face when frightened. Jealousy was first used in Shakespeare's work though the specific reason for its connection to *green* is not known. *Green*'s sense of sadness results from its association with sickness. Gaiety is due to the connotation of flourishing and vigorousness of *green* that brings us joy. Compared to the commonly used Jealousy, the unusual metaphorical meanings of Sadness and Gaiety need to be further explored. The examples listed above do not show these two potential meanings are well-developed. Sadness is expressed when *green* and *yellow* are both used to describe the sick complexion, which means that *green* cannot individually express this meaning. Similarly, the Gaiety meaning occurs when the contexts contain a reference to plants considered collectively that imply flourishing. Deprived of these contexts, Sadness and Gaiety do not appear to have fully developed, although the quotations suggest a potential for them to do so.

4.1.5.5 Environmentalism, Environmentalist Political Parties

Environmentalism is the most commonly used metaphorical meaning of *green* in this period. *Green* is an important symbol of the environmentalism movement, occurring in every aspect of topics related to environmentalism, such as *Greenpeace*, *Green Alliance*, *green development*, *green economy*, *green growth*, *Green Imperialism*, *green industrial policy*, *green job*, *green vehicle* etc. The reason why *green* represents environmental protection is complex. Firstly, *green* as the colour of plants that humans rely on stands for the whole ecological system and the environment around us. Environmentalism aims to protect the ecology and the environment, so *green* is used as a metonym for ecology to symbolise environmentalism. Secondly, the modern environmental movement was first manifested in protecting forests, and deforestation has always been one of the most important problems of environmental protection. *Green* is also the colour of forests, so it symbolises environmentalism because it stands for forest protection. Thirdly, the early romantic ideal of modern environmentalism is the ‘Back-to-Nature’ movement, the advocates of which inspired people to go back to rural life, in contrast with industrial towns. The countryside is greener, due to having more plants. Thus, *green* symbolises environmentalism because it represents its ideal of going back to nature. In general, *green* is the symbol of environmentalism largely due to its association with plants. The BNC provides many examples of the metaphorical meaning of *green* of Environmentalism. As the following examples show, *green* is metaphorically used in a wide range of contexts of environment-friendly:

- (64) Canada unveils **green** programme The Canadian government has published a five-year environmental programme aimed at conserving and improving the quality of the country's air, land and water. (BNC; 1985–1994; The Environment Digest)
- (65) Mr Patten will also outline the forthcoming ‘**green** Bill’, underlining the Government's commitment to environmental protection [...] (BNC; 1985–1994; Independent, elect. edn.)
- (66) The survey said that women were more conscious of the environment, with 46 per cent actively seeking out **green** products, compared to 31 per cent of men. (BNC; 1985–1993; The Environment Digest)
- (67) How industry can turn **green** and still turn a profit — balancing environmental liability with shareholder responsibility will be held on 19–20 March 1992 in London. (BNC; 1985–1993; Chemistry in Britain)

- (68) Voice over Reporter says: turning to cycling now, it's clean, it's healthy and it's **green**. (BNC; 1985–1993; Central television news scripts)
- (69) Unfortunately, the conservation side has hardly been publicised in the case of the London Zoo — and in these pro-environment days where so many people are 'going **green**', this is a great shame. (BNC; 1985–1993; Practical Fishkeeping)

From (64) to (66), *green programme*, *green bill*, and *green products* refer to environmental-related things. *programme*. From (67) to (69), *green* standing alone refers to environmentalism.

Green politics is a political ideology aiming to develop a sustainable society rooted in environmentalism. Accordingly, the party that supports environmentalism is called the *Green Party*. For example:

- (70) The **Green** Party has announced its intention of forcing environmental issues [...] (BNC; 1985–1994; The Environment Digest)

(70) shows that *Green Party* is concerned with environmental issues.

4.1.5.6 Permission

Green is one of the regular traffic light colours, signalling that traffic may proceed.

- (71) [...] the operator often makes a preliminary three-way decision corresponding to the worldwide system of red, amber and **green** traffic lights. (BNC; 1989; The mind at work: psychological ergonomics; Singleton, W T)

(71) shows that green traffic lights give permission to proceed. The information that green signals/traffic lights convey later develops *green*'s metaphorical meaning of 'permission'. For example:

- (72) Voice over The election is also giving a **green light** for policies about the environment. (BNC; 1985–1994; Central News autocue data)

Green light metaphorically means permission in (72).

4.1.5.7 Safety, Non-pollution and High Quality

BNC shows that *green* has a metaphorical meaning of Safe, Unpolluted, and High-Quality. The examples are shown below:

- (73) Mr Dowding is a leading official in the local National Farmers' Union and is aware of the risks involved in throwing away the drugs and chemicals. However, he believes the increased market for **green** products [...] (BNC; 1985–1993; Independent)
- (74) [...] marinated **Green** p44 Organic Foods p85/ Foods produced without the use of chemical at any stage [...] (BNC; 1985–1993; Delicatessen: a celebration and cookbook)

Green product in the first sentence indicates the agricultural products that do not use herbicides, pesticides or chemicals. *Green Organic Foods* in the second sentence also refers to foods produced without the use of chemicals at any stage. This metaphorical meaning derives from plants (esp. edible plants) that are the colour green in natural growth. The colour green represents edible vegetables in a natural ecosystem and growing environment, and thus they are safe, unpolluted and high-quality, compared to agricultural products that have used drugs and chemicals which are polluted and not safe.

4.1.5.8 (gardening skill)

Green fingers indicate those who are good at gardening. This sense possibly derives from the observation that the hands of people who spend time handling grass cuttings and plants go a bit green, but their fingers are not permanently green, so *green* in this expression is more like a connotation of being good at gardening. The example is listed:

- (75) He had more or less **green fingers**, my grandfather. He could grow anything. (BNC; 1990; I don't feel old: the experience of later life: Abendstern, Michele, Thompson, Paul and Itzin, Cathy)

(75) shows that the phrase *green fingers* refers to the good ability to grow plants.

4.1.5.9 (evil)

Some examples show *green* has the connotation of evil:

- (76) Nebuchadnezzar falls prostrate on the ground, and the fiend in the gloomy cavern whips suddenly round and glares with his **green** eye, as if watching for a spring upon the front row of actors, who have now taken up their cue and commenced their performance. (CLEMT3.1; 1852; Chamber's Edinburgh journal)
- (77) The whole cone and the pellet, fertilised by that raunchy **green** devil of a male, are still the preferred versions at home. (BNC; 1985–1993; What's brewing)

- (78) Mrs Monster — You mean I look wonderful? Monster — No, you're all **green** and wrinkly! (BNC; 1985–1993; Return of the red nose joke book)

These examples show that *green* is used to describe fiend's eye, devil and monster, which show that *green* has the connotation of evil. However, *green* in the examples are literally used and the connotation does not develop into a metaphorical meaning of Evil.

4.1.6 Summary

The diachronic investigation of each metaphorical sense reveals different stages of its metaphorical development:

Youth: Green has the connotation of 'youth of plants' etymologically. In OE, the metonymic bases of plants and the colour green are explicit, and the connotation of 'youth of plants' is implied by the colour. In ME, *green* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Youth to describe the abstract concept of age or human beings. In EModE and LModE, Youth continues to be used.

Newness: Green has the connotation of 'newness of plants' etymologically. In OE, *green* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Newness to describe oil. In ME, *green* in this metaphorical sense is used to describe wounds, wine, oil and milk. In EModE, it describes meat, cheese and moon. In LModE, Newness continues to be used.

Rawness: Green has the connotation of 'rawness of plants' etymologically. In OE, the metonymic bases of plants and the colour green are explicit, but *green* is used to express the connotation of rawness rather than the colour green. Thus, although it is ambiguous whether the colour green is literally or metaphorically used, this study regards this case as a metaphorical use of Rawness with relatively low metaphoricity. In the same period, *green* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Rawness to describe animal skin. In ME, *green* in this metaphorical sense is used to describe wounds, wine, oil and milk. In EModE, it describes meat, cheese and moon. In LModE, Newness continues to be used.

Immaturity: The connotation of 'immaturity of plants' probably develops from the etymological connotation of 'youth and rawness of plants'. In ME, the metonymic bases of plants and the colour green are explicit, and the connotation of 'immaturity of plants' is implied by the colour. In the same period, *green* is used to express the metaphorical

meaning of Immaturity to describe words and obeisance. In EModE, it describes occasions and the capacity of a person. In LModE, Immaturity continues to be used.

Vitality: In ME, the metonymic bases of plants and the colour green are explicit, and the connotation of ‘flourishment’ is implied by the colour. In the same period, *green* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Vitality to describe life force or memory. In EModE, it describes things, fame and human beings. In LModE, it continues to be used to describe memory, fame and human beings.

Ill Health: *Green* has the connotation of representing the health condition etymologically because of the ancient and medieval medical traditions. In ME, it is ambiguous whether *green* is literally used or metaphorically used to describe the health condition, but the semantic highlight of *green* the connotation of rawness rather than the colour green. This study regards this case as a metaphorical use of Ill Health with relatively low metaphoricity. In EModE and LModE, Ill Health continues to be used as ME.

Inexperience and Naivety: In EModE, developing from the connotations of youth and immaturity, *green* in this sense is metaphorically used to describe human beings and age and develops the metaphorical meanings of Inexperience and Naivety. In LModE, Inexperience and Naivety continue to be used as EModE.

Jealousy: In EModE, *green* is metaphorically used to describe jealousy. In LModE, Jealousy continues to be used.

Fear: In LModE, it is ambiguous whether *green* is literally or metaphorically used to describe the emotion of fear. Because the emotion of fear is not explicit, the semantic highlight of *green* is the emotion of fear rather than the colour green.

Simpleton: In LModE, the metaphorical meaning of Inexperience and Naivety is extended to the metaphorical meaning of Simpleton.

Environmentalism, Environmentalist Political Parties, and Safety, Non-pollution and High Quality: In LModE, because *green*’s etymological bases are plants, it is used to represent the ecology and develops the connotation of environmentally friendly. Thus, *green* is metaphorically used to express the meanings of Environmentalism, Environmentalist Political Parties, and Safety, Non-pollution and High Quality.

Permission: In LModE, *green light* has the connotation of permission to proceed because of the traffic light signals. The colour and the metonymic bases of traffic lights are together metaphorically used to describe the permission of policies. This metaphorical use keeps the conceptual link with the metonymy compared to those that have completely lost the metonymic basis, so its metaphoricity is slightly lower.

(gardening skill): In LModE, the metonymic bases of fingers and the colour green are explicit, and the connotation of ‘gardening skill’ is implied by the metonymic bases of fingers and colour. There is no evidence showing the development of metaphoricity, so it is a connotation.

(evil): In LModE, the metonymic bases of evil figures or images and the colour green are explicit, and the connotation of ‘evil’ is implied by the colour. There is no evidence showing the development of metaphoricity, so it is a connotation.

The development of the metaphorical meanings shows that they develop from the connotations of the colour terms. In most cases, the colour is not used in its literal meaning and the connotation is used to describe other things other than the metonymic basis (i.e. the connotation is deprived of the metonymic basis), which indicates that the connotation fully develops into a metaphorical meaning. The latter point can be explained by the generalisation proposed by Kövecses (2013) in the cognitive aspect of the metaphorical conceptualisation.

According to Kövecses (2013), ‘SAD IS DOWN’ is a case of the target domain involving an element that becomes the source domain. Downwardness is associated with sadness inside the SADNESS frame, which can be generalised to the concept of DOWN in the SPACE thematic hierarchy that is distinct from the sadness inside the SADNESS frame. Colour is associated with connotations inside the domain of the metonymy (e.g. plants), and the connotation can be generalised to a concept in a distinct thematic hierarchy. The generalisation is indicated by applying the connotations to the referent(s) that is different from the metonymy where the colour and the connotation are associated. For example, inside the domain of the PLANT, colour is associated with the connotation of immaturity, and immaturity is generalised to a concept of immaturity in a distinct domain of UNDERTAKING. The generalisation is indicated by applying the connotation of immaturity to a thought, a plan, a person or the power and capacity of a person. That is, *green* is used to describe an undeveloped thought or plan, an inexperienced or naive person.

The completion of the metaphorical development is signalled by the generalisation to the target domain in the metaphorical conceptualisation. In most cases, the completion of the metaphorical development reaches the pole of metaphor (most metaphoricity) in the continuum between metonymy and metaphor. However, sometimes the completion of the metaphorical development ends in the intermediate stages of the continuum but approaching the pole of metaphor (i.e. lower metaphoricity). In the example mentioned in 4.1.2.1, it is ambiguous whether *green* literally refers to the colour or metaphorically refers to the youth of the plants because green and youth are both inside the domain of the PLANT. The sense of Ill Health also has ambiguity because a person can be described as being *green* if their face or skin is this colour. Thus, in the sentence ‘You were green’ (see 4.1.5.1), *green* can either be the actual colour green or metaphorically refer to ill health. Nevertheless, the semantic highlight of the colour is not the literal meaning but the metaphorical meaning, so it is regarded as a metaphorical meaning with lower metaphoricity.

Table 4.1 summarises the metaphorical meanings of *green* this study found in four historical periods. It displays the metaphorical meanings, the target domains and the date information of *green*. The second column shows the metaphorical meanings and also the connotations (indicated by brackets) that have the potential of developing metaphorical meanings of *green*. The third column presents the domains of the metaphorical meanings, and the fourth column shows the occurrence in four historical periods and the date information of each metaphorical meaning. The bold form of the historical periods is used to indicate that this metaphorical meaning is found in the corpora. If the metaphorical meanings are only provided in the corpora but not shown on OED, HTE and MM, a plus mark ‘+’ is added in front of them. The domains of the metaphorical meanings of *green* show the generalised concepts from the connotations of the colour. In the third column of the table, the domain names are adopted from the MM.

Table 4.1 Metaphorical meanings of *green* in four historical periods

	Metaphorical meaning	Target domain	Occurrence in historical periods
1	Youth	1B03 AGE	(OE), ME, EModE , LModE
2	Newness	1M07 MEASUREMENT OF TIME AND RELATIVE TIME	OE, ME, EModE , LModE
3	Rawness	1O03 PREPARATION AND UNDERTAKING	OE, ME, EModE, LModE
4	Immaturity	1O03 PREPARATION AND UNDERTAKING	ME, EModE, LModE
5	Vitality	1M02 DURATION IN TIME, 1O20 MANNER OF ACTION	ME , EModE , LModE
6	Ill Health	1C01 HEALTH	ME , EModE , LModE
7	Inexperience	1O23 ABILITY	EModE , LModE
8	Naivety	2A13 LACK OF UNDERSTANDING	EModE, LModE
9	Jealousy	2D01 EMOTION	EModE, LModE
10	Fear	2D01 EMOTION	LModE
11	Simpleton	2A13 LACK OF UNDERSTANDING	LModE
12	Environmentalism	3A06 SOCIAL COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE	LModE
13	Environmentalist Political Parties	3D03 POLITICS	LModE
14	Permission	3D05 AUTHORITY, REBELLION AND FREEDOM	LModE
15	+ Safe, Non-pollution and High quality	1G01 FOOD AND EATING	LModE
16	+ (gardening skill)	1G03 FARMING	(LModE)
17	+ (evil)	2C02 BAD	(LModE)

As Table 4.1 shows, there are two metaphorical meanings (neither is supported by corpus evidence) in OE, six metaphorical meanings in ME (with two supported), eight metaphorical meanings in EModE (five supported), and fifteen metaphorical meanings in LModE (fourteen supported). Corpora provided a metaphorical meaning of Safe, Non-pollution and High quality, and two connotations of gardening skill and evil that are not shown in OED, HTE and MM. It is shown that *green* has expanded its figurative use to satisfy the increasing language needs as society develops.

In OE, *green* has one connotation of youth, two metaphorical meanings of Newness in the domain of MEASUREMENT OF TIME AND RELATIVE TIME, Rawness in PREPARATION AND UNDERTAKING. These figurative uses are all about the metonymic bases of plants. In ME, there are four emerging metaphorical meanings of Youth in the domain of AGE, Immaturity

in PREPARATION AND UNDERTAKING, Vitality in DURATION IN TIME, and Ill Health in the domain of HEALTH. The former three metaphorical senses derive from metonymic bases of plants. The emerging metaphorical meaning of Ill Health might be attributed to the development of medical understanding. In EModE, the emerging metaphorical meanings are Inexperience in ABILITY, Naivety in LACK OF UNDERSTANDING, and Jealousy in EMOTION. Vitality in another domain of 1020 MANNER OF ACTION is found in EModE. They all develop from the previous connotations and metaphorical senses of *green*. In LModE, the emerging metaphorical meanings are Simpleton in LACK OF UNDERSTANDING, Fear in EMOTION, Environmentalism in SOCIAL COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE, Environmentalist Political Parties in POLITICS, Permission in AUTHORITY, REBELLION AND FREEDOM, and Safe, Non-pollution and High Quality in AUTHORITY, REBELLION AND FREEDOM. Two connotations of gardening skill and evil are found in corpora. In this period, *green* develops an important connotation of environmental-friendly, which derives from the metonymic basis of ecology. The connotation motivates the metaphorical meaning of Environmentalism, Environmentalist Political Parties, and Safe, Non-pollution and High Quality. *Green* has new metonymic bases of traffic lights in this period, which develop the new metaphorical meaning of Permission in AUTHORITY, REBELLION AND FREEDOM.

The diachronic investigation of the metaphorical senses in actual language evidence contribute to informing the target domain. For example, the connotation of vitality is generalised into two distinct domains (see 4.1.3.5 and 4.1.4.2). Based on these findings and their developments shown in Table 4.1, Figure 4.1 shows the course of the routes taken during the development of the metaphorical meanings:

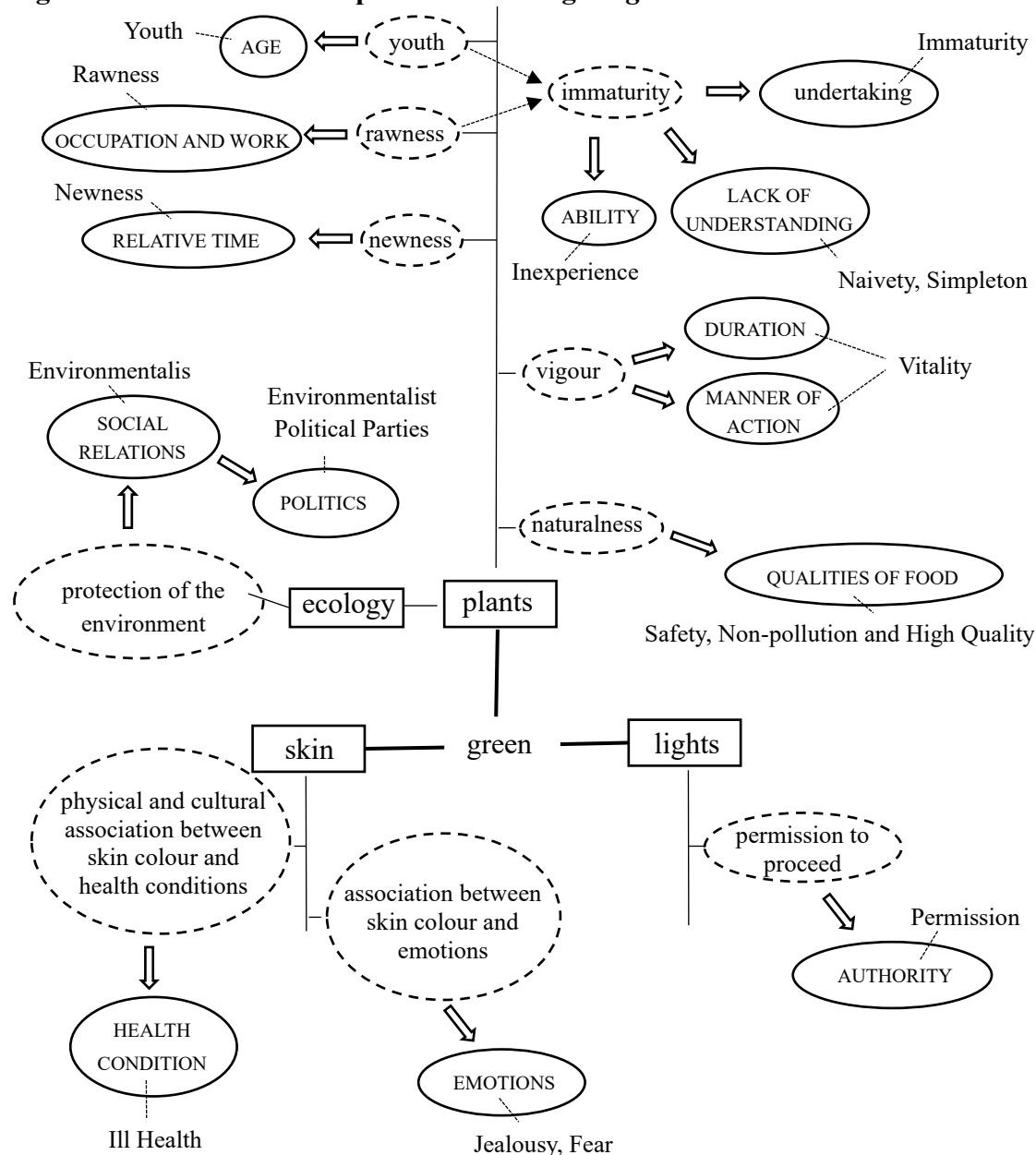
Figure 4.1 Network of metaphorical meanings of *green*

Figure 4.1 aims to show the development of each metaphorical meaning of *green*, by indicating the metonymies (square shape), the connotations (dashed circles), and target domains (circles). Generally, the starting point is the metonymy, whose connotations are still in the domain of the metonymy. The connotations are generalised into other distinct domains from the domain of the metonymy and the connotations, which are shown by the arrow and the target domains (in circles) in the figure, signalling the metaphorical meanings are fully developed. The dashed lines point to the metaphorical meanings.

Green is surrounded by three metonymic bases, plants (which has a derivation metonymy of ecology), skin and lights. The metonymy of plants presents six connotations (in dashed circles), youth, rawness, immaturity, newness, vigour and naturalness. The connotation of

youth is found before it is generalised to the domain of AGE, deriving the metaphorical meaning of Youth of human beings. The connotation of rawness relating to plants is generalised to the domain of OCCUPATION AND WORK (of skin, wood, meat etc.), deriving the metaphorical meaning of Rawness. The connotations of youth and rawness are extended to the connotation of immaturity, which is generalised to the domain of UNDERTAKING (of a thing, a thought, a plan), ABILITY (of a person or her/his capacities) and LACK OF UNDERSTANDING (of a person), giving rise to the metaphorical meanings of Immaturity, Inexperience, Naivety and Simpleton. The connotation of newness is generalised to the domain of RELATIVE TIME (of oil, wine) and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Newness. The connotation of vigour is generalised to two domains of DURATION (of memory), and MANNER OF ACTION (of a person), giving rise to the metaphorical meaning of Vitality. The connotation of naturalness is generalised to QUALITIES OF FOOD and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Safety, Non-pollution and High Quality.

The metonymic basis of ecology is an extension of the metonymic bases of plants of *green*. It has one connotation of protection of the environment, which is generalised into SOCIAL RELATIONS and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Environmentalism. This metaphorical meaning is mapped onto the domain of POLITICS, and *green* develops another metaphorical meaning of Environmentalist Political Parties. The metonymic basis of skin has two connotations of association with health conditions and association with emotions. The former is generalised into HEALTH CONDITION and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Ill Health. The latter is generalised into EMOTION and develops into the metaphorical meanings of Jealousy and Fear. The metonymic bases of lights have one connotation of permission to proceed. The connotation is generalised into AUTHORITY and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Permission.

Importantly, *green* could draw on multiple related metaphorical meanings simultaneously. That is, in the network of metaphorical meanings of *green*, which can be regarded as the conceptual link with a web-organised structure, some closely related concepts (metaphorical meanings in the network) are difficult to delineate. Anderson and Bramwell (2014) investigate five BCTs in English using HTE and MM. For the findings of *green*, they claim that ‘the main conceptual links within the green results are concepts such as being unprocessed, simple-minded, inexperienced, youthful, vigorous and fresh. However, these cannot always be clearly delineated’ (2014: 150), and they list examples include *green fish* (having the metaphorical connotations of both unprocessed and fresh qualities)

and *greenhorn* (having the metaphorical connotations of two separate qualities of inexperience and unskillfulness of a person). The present study also finds it is difficult to delineate some metaphorical concepts such as Youth, Inexperience and Naivety when analysing the metaphorical meaning of within the same lexeme of *green*.

The present study reviews some semantic networks of *green* in previous studies to highlight the main characteristics of Figure 4.1. Warth-Szczygłowska (2014) compares English *green* and Polish *zielony* and then offers a diachronic analysis of them by analysing corpus examples. The present research reviews Niemeier (1998) and Warth-Szczygłowska's study. These two studies explored all meanings of *green*, including literal meanings and non-literal meanings. Niemeier's network presents the metonymic extensions of *green*. She claims that a metaphorical construction that contains different metonymy steps may be considered to be a metonymy, but it can also be considered to be a metaphor by focusing only on the starting point and the output (1998: 144). However, Niemeier does not indicate which extensions can be regarded as metaphors. Warth-Szczygłowska's network does not indicate metaphorical meanings, but the explanations demonstrate the metonymic extensions and metaphorical extensions. Compared to the work of Niemeier, Warth-Szczygłowska, and Hamilton's work (2016) focuses on metaphorical meanings of English colour terms. Together with the present study, the results of the previous studies are presented in four figures in the same form in order to facilitate the comparison. The metaphorical meanings of *green* are indicated by the bold format, except Niemeier's network that mixes the literal meanings and non-literal meanings (e.g. '2 colour of nature/pastoral life' is provided through two examples, 'green belt' is the literal meaning but 'green thumb/fingers' is a figurative meaning).

Figure 4.2 Network of *green* in Niemeier's work (1998: 134)

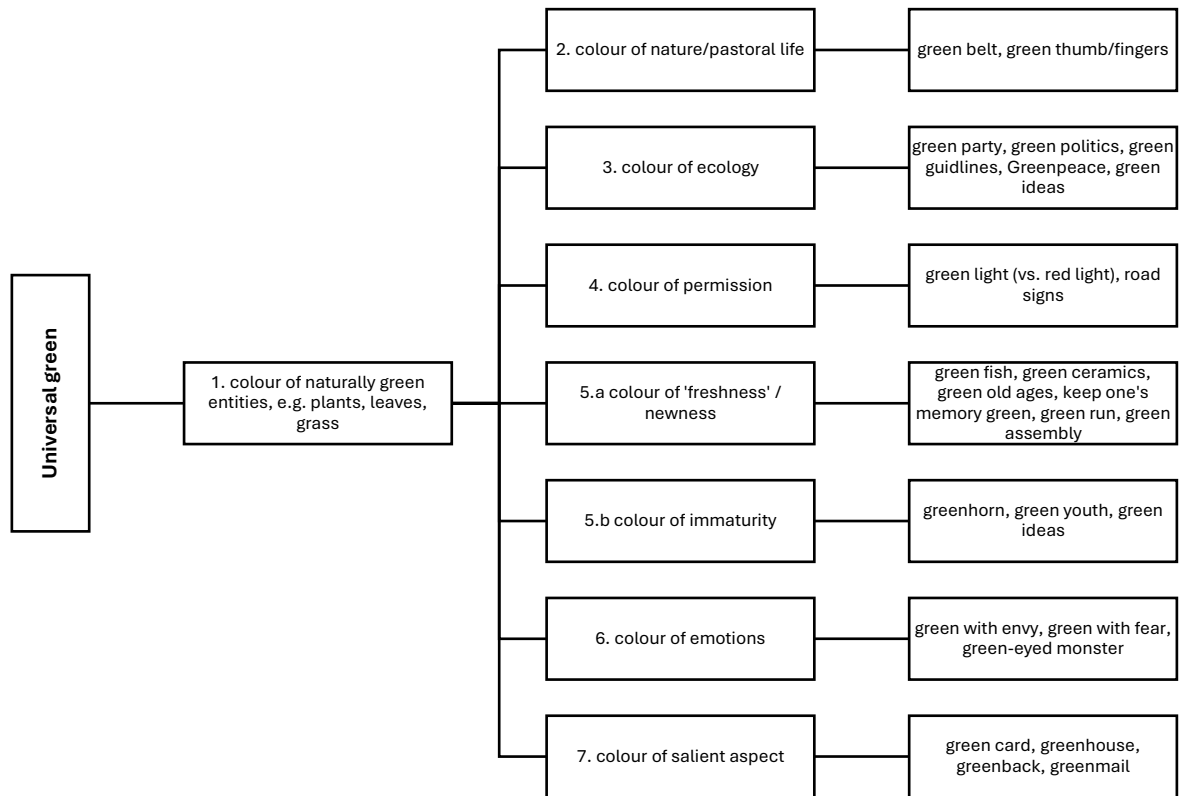


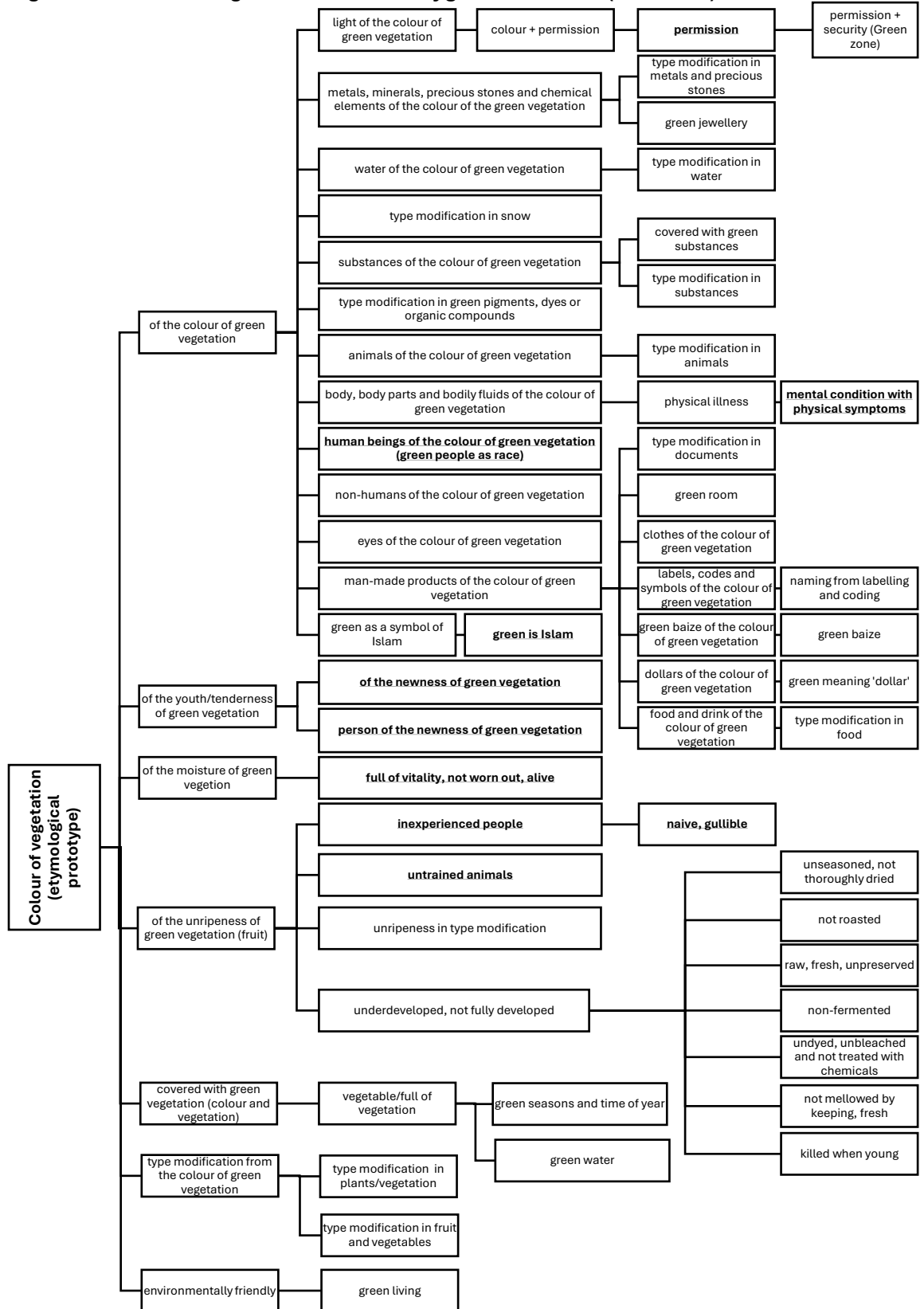
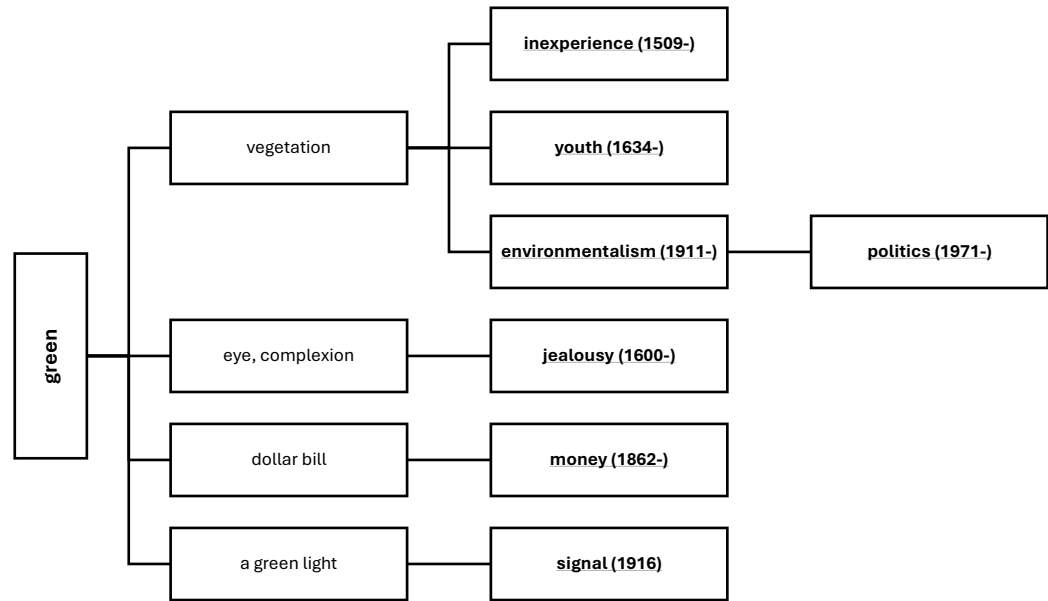
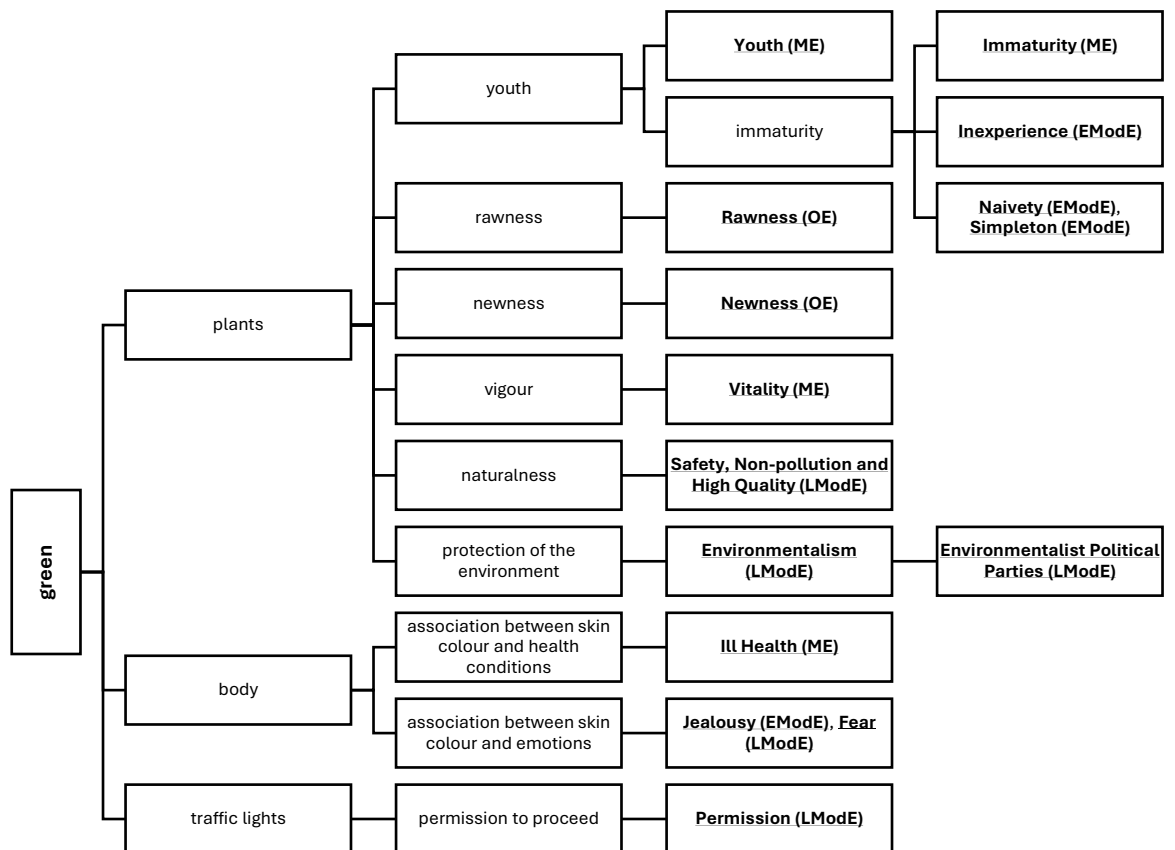
Figure 4.3 Network of *green* in Warth-Szczyglowska's work (2014: 268)

Figure 4.4 Network of *green* in Hamilton's work (2016: 170–179)Figure 4.5 Network of *green* in the present study (see Figure 4.1)

By comparing the three figures of previous studies with Figure 4.1 of the present study, it is seen that the main differences of the network in the present study compared to the previous studies are: (1) it lists the metonymic bases and the connotations; (2) it shows that

are generalised to the target domains, and (3) it presents the date of the metaphorical development. Thus, Figure 4.1 illustrate the starting points, motivation and development of each metaphorical meaning.

The present study explores the derivation path of each metaphorical meaning using a diachronic method. Although Warth-Szczygłowska and Hamilton also use a diachronic analysis based on OED (Hamilton also uses HTE), the present study complements the OED, HTE and MM by six historical corpora. The corpora evidence connotations as pre-metaphorical meanings and the transitive stages where the literal and metaphorical interpretations are both valid (see example 1 in 4.1.2.1). They contribute to exploring the motivations of the metaphorical meanings.

All works show that the extended meanings of *green* start from the etymological prototype and metonymic bases. Figures 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 illustrate the corresponding metonymic bases of each figurative meaning (the metonymic bases of the metaphorical meanings in Figure 4.4 are informed by the texts and are presented in the Figure. The table in the original work does not contains the metonymic bases). However, they have different judgements of whether the figurative meanings are metaphorical. For example, Warth-Szczygłowska regards *green* referring to money as a metonymic extension (presented as non-bold in Figure 4.3) while Hamilton considers it as metaphorical extensions (presented as bold in Figure 4.4). Warth-Szczygłowska's network regards the sense of 'mental condition with physical symptoms; as metaphonymy (2014: 135), and the sense of 'raw, fresh, unpreserved' as ambiguous between the literal meaning and figurative meaning (2014: 205), which are considered as fully developed metaphorical meanings in the present study.

In the present study, when a connotation of the metonymic bases of the colours is generalised to a distinct target domain, the corresponding metaphorical meaning is fully developed. Metonymy and metaphor are at the two poles of a continuum, and the development from metonymy to metaphor often shows a transitional stage where both metonymic interpretation and metaphorical interpretation make sense. However, this study claims that if the metonymic extensions are generalised to a distinct domain (sometimes it may still have the conceptual link with the metonymic bases, or it does not get rid of the literal meaning of the colour), the metaphoricity is approaching the pole of metaphor and it can be regarded as a metaphorical meaning. The different views of metaphor result in different results of the four figures.

Most figurative meanings of *green*, including freshness/newness, emotions, immaturity, inexperience, permission, environmentalism etc., are listed in all figures. All three previous studies and the present study find *green* has the metaphorical meaning of emotions. Envy and Fear are the common findings of the previous studies. This study discusses Fear and Jealousy, and it also finds other emotions of Sadness and Gaiety. Corpus evidence shows that *green* has the figurative meaning of Sadness along with *yellow* and it can also refer to Gaiety when the contexts are related to flourishing plants. However, Sadness and Gaiety examples only appear in certain contexts, which suggests that they are not fully developed.

4.2 *Qing* 青

Qing was the representative colour term in the GREEN category in the earlier stage of Chinese and was later replaced by *lv*. 4.2.1 presents the etymological metonymy and cultural connotations of *qing*. In 4.2.2, 4.2.3, 4.2.4 and 4.2.5, metaphorical meanings collected in CCL corpus are shown in each historical period. The source of the corpus data is given as ‘dynasty; title; author’. 4.2.6 summarises the metaphorical meanings and the metaphorical development of *qing*.

4.2.1 Etymological metonymy and cultural connotations

Before the etymology of *qing* is discussed, its hue and its basic colour status is clarified. Yao (1988: 25) describes the history of the basic colour terms, which is divided into five historical periods⁶:

- a. Yinshang dynasty period (16th century B.C.–11th century B.C.): *you* (BLACK), *bai* (WHITE), *chi* (RED), *huang* (YELLOW) and *qing* (GRUE)
- b. Zhou–Qin dynasties period (11th century B.C.–209 B.C.): *xuan/hei* (BLACK), *bai* (WHITE), *chi* (RED), *huang* (YELLOW), *qing* (GRUE), *lv* (GREEN), *zi* (PURPLE) and *hong* (PINK)

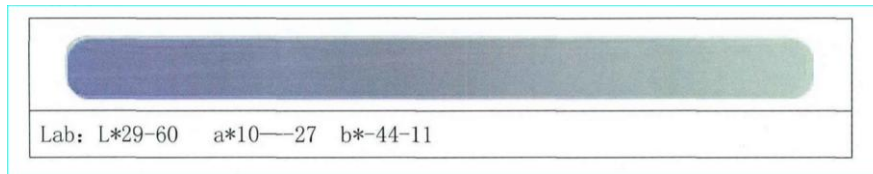
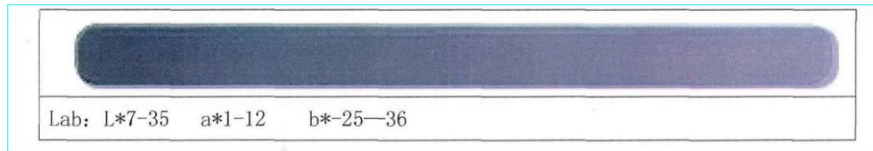
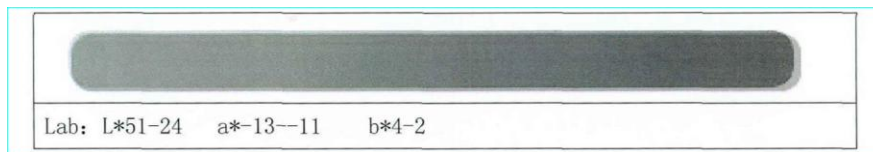
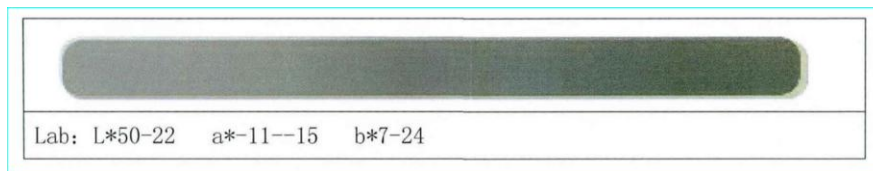
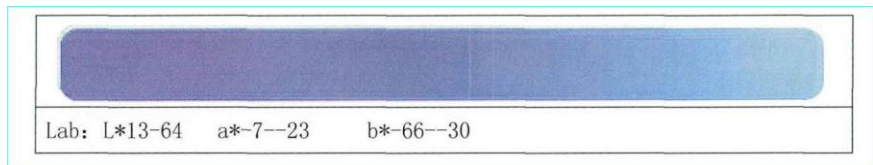
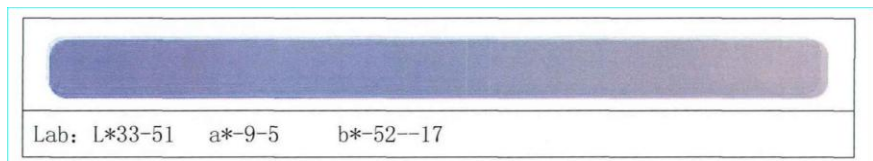
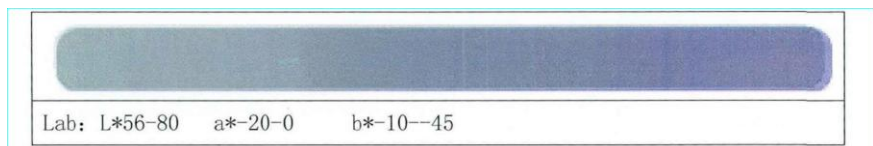
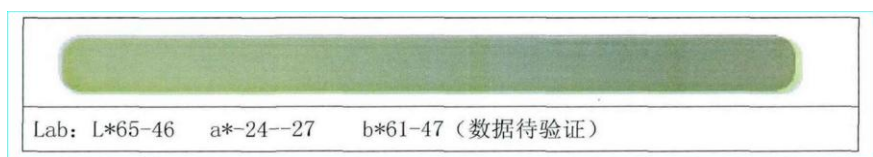
⁶ Yao (1988) divides the five historical periods roughly using dynasties and period names but not exact dates. The dates in the brackets are added by my own according to *Dacidian* (*Dacidian Appendix and Index*: 23–35).

- c. Han–Jin–Northern and Southern dynasties period (206 B.C.–617): *hei* (BLACK), *bai* (WHITE), *chi*⁷ (RED), *huang* (YELLOW), *qing* (GRUE), *lv* (GREEN), *zi* (PURPLE), *hong* (RED and PINK), and *hui* (GREY)
- d. Tang–Song dynasties to the early modern period (589–1919): *hei* (BLACK), *bai* (WHITE), *hong* (RED), *huang* (YELLOW), *qing* (GRUE), *lv* (GREEN), *lan* (BLUE), *zi* (PURPLE), *hui* (GREY), *he* (BROWN)
- e. Late modern period (1919–present): *hei* (BLACK), *bai* (WHITE), *hong* (RED), *huang* (YELLOW), *lv* (GREEN), *lan* (BLUE), *zi* (PURPLE), *hui* (GREY), *zong/he* (BROWN), *cheng* (ORANGE)

Yao's description shows how the colour range GRUE is regarded as a single colour category and is encoded as the colour term *qing* in the Yinshang dynasty period. Then, the colour category (can be expressed by the colour term *lv*, but it may not be representative) GREEN is specified in the Zhou–Qin period. The colour category BLUE (encoded by the colour term *lan*) is specified in the Tang–Song dynasties to the modern period. Finally, the colour category of GRUE and colour term *qing* is no longer a basic colour term in the contemporary period.

It is seen that *qing* refers to a broad colour range in the spectrum that covers both green and blue, and later *lv* and *lan* divide the spectrum of *qing* to refer to specific green and blue hues. This aligns with the evolutionary sequence of colour category acquisition. Biggam (2012) illustrates GRUE is developed in a society in either Stage III or Stage IV, which then splits into two categories of 'green' and 'blue' in Stage V (2012: 75). Thus, *qing* is the first colour term commonly used to refer to plants. In the process of *lv* replacing *qing* as the basic colour term for GREEN category, both *qing* and *lv* refer to the colour of the plants. After *lv* specifically refers to the green hue, it is commonly used to refer to the colour of plants and *qing*'s reference to plants remains in some conventional expressions. *Qing* is a collection of multiple colours, which has a broad coverage of the hue spectrum. The definition of *qing* in Chinese dictionaries shows that it refers to the colours blue, green and black. Xiao (2011) explores the spectrum of *qing* in the pre-Qin dynasties by investigating the colour of the metonymies:

⁷ *Hong* is used as a colour term for RED category alongside *chi*. At the same time, *hong* is also the colour term for PINK category

Figure 4.6 Hues of qing with different metonymies (Xiao 2011)a. *qing* of mineral pigments (2011: 41)b. *qing* of lancao (a kind of dyeing plants) (2011: 44)c. *qing* of plants (2011: 45)d. *qing* of jade (2011: 51)e. *qing* of sky (2011: 52)f. *qing* of fire (2011: 54)g. *qing* of fly (2011: 55)h. *qing* of ear of grain (2011: 56)

Since this study only concerns *qing*'s green hue among its broad range in the spectrum, which is the colour of plants (so it can be regarded as the counterpart of *green*), the discussion of etymological metonymy and cultural connotations of *qing* in this section distinguishes which are related to plants and which are not. There are two explanations for the etymology of *qing*: one is that *qing* originates from the colour of growing plants, and the other is that *qing* originates from the colour of minerals used as pigments. In other words, this divergence is about whether the etymological metonymies of *qing* are plants or minerals. The former is supported by *Shuowen*, *Shiming* and *Ziyuan*.

Shuowen claims that *qing* is the colour of the east and the character of *qing* (青) is composed of 'sheng' (生) and 'dan' (丹):

東方色也。木生火，从生、丹。丹青之信言象然。
(*Qing*) is the colour of the east. Wood feeds fire; (*qing* 青)'s meaning is combined with *sheng* (生) and *dan* (丹). The credibility of *dانqing* is certain.

The definition of *qing* in *Shuowen* is largely influenced by the Wuxing Theory. The philosophic concepts of Yin-Yang and the Wuxing are very old and existed in the earliest stage of Chinese culture, and they are part of the fundamental cultural background in China. The theory of Yin-Yang believes that the two opposing *qi*, Yin and Yang, were the source of all things. When Yin and Yang come together, everything grows. In the sky, they form the winds, clouds, thunder and rain, and in the earth, they form landscape features such as rivers and seas, mountains and rivers, and in space the cardinal directions of east, west, south and north, and in the climate, the four seasons of spring, summer, autumn and winter. Wuxing Theory takes the five phases of everyday life: Water, Fire, Wood, Metal and Earth, as the basis for the changes that constitute everything in the universe and various natural phenomena. Yan Zou (c. 305–240 B.C.) theoretically transformed the Wuxing Theory in the Warring States period and added the philosophical concepts of 'mutual production' and 'mutual conquest' into it. In Wuxing Theory, the five phases are not isolated but linked with each other to describe and explain an ordered cycle of change. The mutual production order of the five phases is: Wood produces Fire, Fire produces Earth, Earth produces Metal, Metal produces Water, and Water produces Wood. The mutual conquest series are: Wood conquers (or overcomes) Earth, Metal conquers Wood, Fire conquers Metal, Water conquers Fire, and Earth conquers Water (Henderson 2003: 787).

Wuxing Theory's fivefold schema contains Five Colours, which are *hei* (black), *chi* (red), *qing*, *bai* (white) and *huang* (yellow). Xiao (2011: 183–188) investigates the relationship

between Wuxing Theory and the Five Colours. They were previously developed in parallel and did not show a systematic relationship before the Shang dynasty. Before Wuxing Theory was fully developed, four-colour system had already played an important role in cultural events (for example, different coloured sacrificial animals were selected for different sacrificial scenes). When the concept of the five elements was universally believed and widely popular in the late Spring and Autumn periods, there was a general phenomenon of *shangwu* (grouping all things in nature into these five categories) to allot the five elements to the composition of the system. That is an important reason why the previous four-colour system (white, red, yellow and black) became a five-colour system (green-blue, white, red, yellow and black) in the Shang dynasty. The corresponding relationship between five colours and five directions (the cardinal directions plus the middle) appeared to be earlier than the corresponding relationship between five colours and five elements. After the Wuxing Theory fully formed, the Five Colours was finally embedded into the theoretical system. Wood corresponds to *qing*, Fire corresponds to *chi*, Earth corresponds to *huang*, Metal corresponds to *bai*, and Water corresponds to *hei*.

According to Wuxing Theory, Wood produces Fire and the correspondence of the Five Colours is *qing* producing *chi*. Thus, the definition of *qing* in *Shuowen* clarifies that the composition of the character 青 *qing* is 生 *sheng* ('give birth to') and 丹 *dan* (*dan* is another name referring to red like *chi*), which means *qing* gives birth to *dan*. In the latter part of the definition of *Shuowen*, it clarifies that 'the credibility of *danqing* is certain'. There are two explanations: 1) the relationship of 'Wood produces Fire' is certain and unchangeable, so the credibility of *danqing* is certain, or (2) the colour of *dan* and *qing* is unchangeable so its credibility is certain.

Shiming indicates *qing* 1) refers to the colour of plants in birth and growth; 2) has the meaning of east as *Shuowen* says that *qing* is the colour of the east; 3) refers to a headache sickness which is given the name because the sickness often occurs in the spring.

Ziyuan has another interpretation of the character of *qing*. It claims that the character of 青 *qing* is composed of 生 *sheng* and 井 *jing* (rather than 生 *sheng* and 丹 *dan*). The former indicates the meaning of *qing* whereas the latter refers to the sound of *qing*. The reason why the lower part of the *qing* character was mistakenly regarded as 丹 *dan* is that its form is similar to the form of 井 *jing*. This interpretation agrees with *Shiming* which claims that *qing* means birth. It also shows that the 'sheng' in *qing* character is replaced by 木

(‘wood’) or 艸 (‘grass’) in the Zhou dynasty, which shows that *qing* derives from plants. *Ziyuan* claims that the etymological meaning of *qing* is the colour of plants in the growing season, referring to things in *qing* colour. In the Wuxing, Wood is the east element and it is in the colour of *qing*, so *qing* is the colour of the east.

The interpretations of *Shiming* and *Ziyuan* are more persuasive because they consider the pronunciation of the *qing* character and combine the character form of *qing* in the earliest period. *Shuowen*’s explanation of ‘dan’ composed of the meaning of *qing* is inappropriate. Nevertheless, these three dictionaries indicate that *qing* originally refers to the colour of plants. Moreover, the definition in *Shiming* and *Ziyuan* indicates the etymological meaning of *qing* is the colour of new or growing plants since its meaning is associated with 生 *sheng* which means birth and growth.

The second proposal of *qing*’s etymological metonymy of minerals is based on the definition of *Shuowen* and the language evidence of *qing* is used together with *dan* to refer to the colour of minerals. What is more, the etymological metonymic bases of minerals explain why *qing* refers to both blue and green to some extent. Xiao (2011: 34–37) claims that *qing* originally refers to the mineral that can be used as pigments, because 1) the character 青 *qing* consists of 生 *sheng* and 丹 *dan* (*dan* is a pigment so *qing* must be a pigment as well), and 2) *qing* is used with other pigments in records. *Qing* is used with *jin* (gold), *yu* (jade), *xi* (tin), *shi* (stone), and *dan* (cinnabar) to refer to a kind of natural mineral. Xiao cites the proposal of Xu (2003), who claims that the mineral of *qing* is assumed to be the paragenetic mineral of azurite and malachite, whose colour varies among green, blue and black. Tang (2019: 13–15) claims that *qing* originally refers to a green and blue mineral before it becomes a colour term because the *qing*’s character consists of *dan* and *qing* and it is used as other pigments in pre-Qin dynasty records, similar to Xiao’s proposal.

The arguments for the etymological metonymies of *qing* as plants or pigments have no fixed conclusion. The first argument in favour of *qing*’s etymological metonymies of pigments is the character containing *dan*, but as *Ziyuan* indicates the component is 井 *jing* rather than 丹 *dan*. The second argument is that *qing* is used together with other pigments in records. However, *qing* is frequently used to describe plants in the same period. In fact, *qing* is used with both plants and pigments in early Old Chinese and the dates cannot prove

which is the earlier. Thus, it is uncertain whether *qing* originally refers to minerals and then is extended to describe plants or vice versa.

This study favours the view that the etymological metonymies of *qing* are plants and then *qing* becomes a colour term with other metonymies (mineral and plant pigments, sky etc), although these metonymies play an important role in defining the hues of *qing* as the hue spectrum in Xiao's study shows. Firstly, this study argues that the explanation of the character from *Ziyuan* is more reasonable. The character itself shows its derivation to 生 *sheng* ('growth'). Compared to *green* whose Germanic base is 'grow', it is shown that the etymological metonymies of both *green* and *qing* are plants that are typically newly sprouting and growing. In a previous study, Yao (1988) points out *qing* and *green* both have the semantic derivation of growth. Another important argument for plants is that *qing*'s cultural connotations derive from its referent of plants. In the Wuxing Theory, *qing* corresponds to the element of Wood, spring, and the east. All the connotations are derived because *qing* is regarded as the colour of plants. Although it is controversial whether plants are the etymological metonymy of *qing*, the metonymic bases of plants are one of the earliest and the most prominent metonymies of *qing*, which generate its most important cultural connotations. In short, this study argues that *qing*'s etymological metonymy of plants is based on the origin of the Chinese character 青 *qing*, whose components indicate this character is related to growing plants, and the essential part of the hues of *qing* is the green colour of the plants. While *qing* refers to a broad range in the spectrum, this study concerns the green colour of *qing* which has the metonymic bases of plants.

Qing has rich cultural connotations in Chinese culture largely because it is one of the Five Colours which is an important component of Wuxing Theory. These correspondences have experiential bases: 1) plants are green, 2) spring is characterised by growing green plants, and 3) plants flourish in the east of China because of abundant precipitation. Thus, these cultural connotations that play an important role when *qing* develops its metaphorical meanings are generated by *qing* with the metonymic bases of plants.

The Five Colours as a part of Wuxing Theory occurs in many aspects of cultural events. Xiao (2011) indicates two main cultural aspects of colour use related to the relationship of Wuxing and Five Colours: 1) The emperor should use the colour in every season according to regulations. For example: in the spring, the emperor lives in the Qingyang Palace in the east, hanging a *qing* flag, and wearing *qing* clothes and *qing* jade. In the summer, the emperor lives in the south, taking the '*chise che*' (red carriage), riding '*chise ma*' (red

horse), hanging ‘*chiseqi*’ (red flag) and wearing the ‘*chise yuqi*’ (red jade). 2) Each dynasty represents one of the five phases and thus has the emblem of one of five colours. For example, the Xia dynasty represents Wood, and it favours *qing*. The Shang dynasty represents Metal and it favours *white*. The Zhou dynasty represents Fire and it favours *red*. The mutual production and mutual conquest series account for the succession of the dynasties. For instance, Metal overcomes Wood, so the Xia dynasty whose emblem was Wood was replaced by the Shang dynasty whose emblem was Metal. Fire overcomes Metal, so the Shang dynasty is replaced by the Zhou dynasty. In general, the ruling class of one dynasty makes the regulation of colour use based on its favoured colour and sometimes denigrates the colour that overcomes its favoured colour. For example, the colour of the flag, the gowns of the emperor, the carriages etc. is the benchmark of many political scenarios (2011: 187–188).

In the ancient view of colour system, the colours are divided into standard colours and integrated colours. In general, the standard colours are pure colours including *qing*, *chi*, *huang*, *bai* and *hei*, and the integrated colours are the mixed colour of pure colours including *lv*, *hong*, *bi*, *zi* and *liuhuang* (in another statement, they are *gan*, *hong*, *piao*, *zi* and *liuhuang*). *Liji*⁸ is the earliest documentation that records the division of standard colours and integrated colours, but its record of them is general. Later, the Wuxing Theory is also used to explain the relationship between the five standard colours and five integrated colours. Because Wood overcomes Earth, the corresponding colours *qing* and *huang* are combined to *lv*; because Metal overcomes Wood, the corresponding colours *huang* and *qing* are combined to *bi*; because Fire overcomes metal, the corresponding colours *chi* and *bai* are combined to *hong*; because Water overcomes Fire, the corresponding colours *hei* and *chi* are combined to *zi*; because Earth overcomes Water, the corresponding colours *huang* and *hei* are combined to *liu*.

The Wuxing Theory and Five Colours are deeply rooted in ancient Chinese culture and inevitably are associated with the social and political hierarchy. The pure colours have higher status than the integrated colours. The pre-Qin records show that the ruling class bans the clothing in the integrated colours because they subvert the clothing in standard colours. The ruling regards standard colours as orthodox colours (Xiao 2011: 150–151). In Chapter 4, *zi* as an integrated colour develops the metaphorical meaning of Evil because it is considered to subvert the status of *chi* which is a standard colour. The favoured colour of

⁸ *Liji* (Book of Rites) is an ancient Chinese classic describing the social forms, administration and ritual practices and ceremonial systems of the Zhou dynasty.

each dynasty is also impactful to the social value of a colour. Especially in the clothing regulations in ancient China, the colour regulation of the official clothing directly reflects the official status and the colour regulation of the ruling class and common people reflects the social status. However, the social value of colours including the Five Colours is not unchanged especially when the dynasty changes and each dynasty has a different favoured colour. In this cultural context, the social value and political meaning of *qing* changes through history.

Tang (2019) investigates the use of *qing* in traditional Chinese culture and its application in each of the dynasties. She finds that in pre-Qin dynasties, the use of *qing* in clothing is not systematic, but the dyeing process is mature in this period (2019: 27). In the Qin–Han era, *qing* is the main colour worn by common people. According to the writing records in the Han dynasty, *qing* and *lv* are the colours that are commonly used by common people (2019: 28). In the Tang dynasty, *qing* is regulated as the colour used by low-ranking officials, which is unusual because *qing* as a standard colour should represent a high status in a sociological position. This is due to the Tang dynasty representing the Earth element in the Wuxing which is marked by yellow. The Earth element and its colour yellow are overcome by the element Wood and its colour *qing*, and this explains why the ruling class regards *qing* as an unlucky colour. In addition, the dyeing materials for *qing* are easy to gain and cheap so clothing in *qing* colour is favoured and commonly used by the peasantry (2019: 29–32). In the following Song dynasty, *qing* is even removed from the regulations of official uniforms. What is more, the servant girls are regulated to wear *qing*. Some exiled or demoted officials call themselves *qingyi* or *qingshan* (clothes in *qing* colour). In the lower class, women in wealthy families usually wear red clothes, while women in relatively poor families usually wear clothes in *qing* colour (Tang 2019: 32). In the Yuan dynasty, *qing* is widely used by royalty but it is also regulated as the colour of clothes of prostitutes (2019: 35–37). Despite being used as the colour of the costumes of the emperor for the spring fete, *qing* is not a highly valued colour in clothing regulation in general (Tang 2019: 26). The low social value of *qing* generates the cultural connotation of representing people with low social status, which means that *qing* is worn by women with low social status (actresses, prostitutes etc.).

Although *qing* is not highly valued in clothing regulation, it has a high status in the official seal and ribbon regulation, which is an important part of clothing regulations. In ancient China to present political and social status and rank. The official seal and ribbon system is the regulation of wearing a combination of ribbon and ornaments around the waist.

Wearing ribbons with jade as an accessory originates from the Zhou dynasty, which develops into an integral regulation in the Eastern Han dynasty (Shen 2023: 9–11). In the Eastern Han dynasty, every official has one seal, and the seal goes together with a ribbon. The gaining and losing of the ribbon and seal is often associated with the gaining and losing of the identification and official position, symbolising the change of status (2023: 17, 26). In the Eastern Han dynasty, the first rank in the hierarchy (royal family) wears *huangchi* (red+yellow) ribbon, the second rank wears *chi* (red) ribbon, the third rank wears *lv* (green) ribbon, the fourth rank wears *zi* (purple) ribbon etc. (2023: 28–29). In the following the Six Dynasties period and Sui–Tang dynasties, the regulations have some changes but the *qing* ribbon keeps symbolising the high rank. Since the *qing* ribbon and the *zi* ribbon are regulated to be worn by high ranks, the expression *qingzi* is metaphorically used to refer to high-ranking political and social status.

Because of the conceptualisation of wearing colour representing social status, *qing* develops two contrasting cultural connotations through clothing regulation and official seal and ribbon regulation in ancient Chinese culture. *Qing* is highly valued in the official seal and ribbon regulation, and thus it together with *zi* is used to refer to high ranks in the political and social hierarchy. On the other hand, *qing* is not highly valued in clothing regulation. It is a colour commonly worn by the common people (not the ruling class) since the Han Dynasty. The social value of *qing* becomes lower in the Tang and Song dynasties. In the Ming dynasties, *qing* is even regulated to be worn by actresses and prostitutes etc.

In conclusion, *qing* has the etymological metonymy of plants, while it can refer to a broad range in the colour spectrum including blue, green and black. *Qing* was the early basic colour term for GREEN, but then it was replaced by *lv* which specifies the green colour. *Qing* has rich connotations because of its etymological metonymy of plants, and because it is one of the five standard colours in the Wuxing system. It has the connotations of: 1) east, wood, spring, mainly because of the Wuxing; 2) low-ranking status in hierarchy because of clothing regulation; 3) high-ranking status in hierarchy because of the official ribbon and seal regulation; 4) writing, because it is used as the writing materials; 5) luxury and refinement, because the *qing* pigment is used as the luxury decorations, and 6) vitality and unripeness because of the metonymic bases of the plants.

Dacidian shows 13 metaphorical meanings of *qing*:

Table 4.2 Metaphorical meanings of *qing* in *Dacidian*

	Metaphorical meaning	Earliest occurring date	Expression
1	East	OC	青后(god of the east), 青羌(eastern area), 青土(eastern area), 青神(god of the east), 青帝(god of spring located in the east)
2	Spring	OC	青阳(spring), 青律(instrument representing spring), 青衣(garments of spring), 青韶(spring), 青芳(spring), 青风(spring wind), 青驭(carriage of the god of the spring), 青官(official of spring)
3	History	OC	青史氏(historiographer), 青史(history), 青竹(green bamboo), 青箱学(historiography of heirloom), 青简(green slips)
4	High-ranking Status in Hierarchy	OC	青紫(the colour of the clothing of high-ranking officials), 青纶(green ribbon that ties the official seal), 青组(green ribbon used by high-ranking officials)
5	Youth	MC	青春(green spring), 青年(youth), 年青(young), 青春子(children), 青春客(youth), 青衿子(young student)
6	Age	MC	青春(green spring)
7	Luxury and Refinement	EModC	青锁(green ornament), 青楼(green painted building), 青闺(green painted room), 青轩(green painted carriage), 青琅编(gorgeous poetry)
8	Brothel	EModC	青楼(green painted building)
9	Low-ranking Status in Hierarchy	EModC	青衫(green shirt), 青衿(green collar or lapel of garment), 青袍(green robe), 青衣(green clothes), 青裳(green skirt)
10	Vitality	EModC	青青(dense plants)
11	Precious years	LModC	青春(green spring)
12	Immature	LModC	青妓(green prostitute)

Dacidian has limitations in providing information on metaphorical meanings because 1) the definition part of *qing* lacks metaphorical meanings, and most metaphorical meanings appear in phrases; 2) the citations of each phrase are not sufficient to explore the use of the metaphorical meanings through the four historical periods; 3) it often does not indicate which meanings are metaphorical. Thus, the table is partly informative to the expressions that could develop metaphorical meanings, but the metaphorical meanings of *qing* in each historical period and the date information need to be explored in detail in CCL corpus.

4.2.2 Old Chinese

Four metaphorical meanings of East, Spring, History, High-ranking Status in Hierarchy, and five connotations of low-ranking status in hierarchy, vitality, immaturity, fear and ill health are found in this period.

4.2.2.1 East

The Wuxing indicates that *qing* corresponds to the cardinal direction of the east. The experiential basis of this is that the abundant rainfall and the temperature are favourable for plant growth in the eastern part of the country. As (79) shows, the east is connected with *qing*:

- (79) 东方青，南方赤，西方白，北方黑，上玄，下黄。(战国；仪礼)
East is **qing**, south is red, west is white, north is black, upper is xuan
(black with russet), lower is yellow. (Warring States Period; *Yili*)

(79) shows *qing* has the connotation of the east. The metaphorical use of *qing* is reflected in the fact that when it is used as an adjective to describe nouns, it means the east rather than the colour. For example:

- (80) 小子闾，受兹青社！（东汉；全汉文；严可均）
Hong, accept this **qingshe** (eastern area)! (Eastern Han Dynasty;
Quanhawen; Yan, Kejun)
- (81) 禹東至搏木之地，日出九津，青羌之野，攢樹之所（战国；吕氏春秋；吕不韦门客）
Yu travelled east to the land of Fumu where the sun rises from the
mountain of Jiujin; (it is) the field of **qingqiang** (the east) and the place of
Cuanshu (Warring States Period; *Lvshichunqiu*; hanger-on of Lv, Buwei)
- (82) 天子居青陽左个，乘鸞輅，駕蒼龍，載青旂，衣青衣，服青玉 [...]（战国；吕氏春秋；吕不韦门客）
The emperor resides in the eastern chamber of **qingyang** (eastern palace),
rides a chariot, drives a black dragon, carries a qing flag, is clothed in
qing clothes, wears qing jade [...] (Warring States Period; *Lvshichunqiu*;
hanger-on of Lv, Buwei)

The phrases *qingshe*, *qingqiang* and *qingyang* in the sentences show the metaphorical use of *qing* referring to the east.

4.2.2.2 Spring

Qing refers to *spring* according to the Wuxing. The association of spring and *qing* is probably because spring is the time of year for vegetation as plants revive and become verdant. For example:

- (83) 青春受謝，白日昭只。（战国；宋玉、景差赋；宋玉、景差）
Qingchun (lit. ‘qing spring’) is in the air, everything is coming back to life.
 (Warring States Period; Poems of Song, Yu, Jing, Cuo; Song, Yu, Jing, Cuo)

In (83), spring is described as the colour *qing*. Similar to 4.2.2.1, the metaphorical use of *qing* is reflected in the fact that when it is used to describe nouns, its meaning is the season rather than the colour. For example:

- (84) 东风拂地，启**青阳**之芳辰。（六朝；全梁文；严可均）
 The east wind is blowing on the ground, and the good time of the
qingyang (spring) has begun. (the Six Dynasties, *Quanhanywen*; Yan, Kejun)
- (85) 然，春也，**青帝**神气太平；夏也，赤帝神气太平，六月也，黄帝神气太平；秋也，白帝神气太平；冬也，黑帝神气太平。（东汉；史论太平经）
 Thus, in spring, the marvellous Qi of **Qingdi** is peaceful; in summer, the marvellous Qi of Chidi’s is peaceful; in June, the marvellous Qi of Huangdi is peaceful; in autumn, the marvellous Qi of Baidi is peaceful; and in winter, the marvellous Qi of Heidi is peaceful. (East Han Dynasty; *Shilun, Taiping Jing*)

The phrases *qingyang* (spring) and *Qingdi* (the god who governs spring) show that the metaphorical use of *qing* refers to the spring season rather than the colour.

Interestingly, the metaphorical senses of Spring and East sometimes co-occur in one expression of *qing*. For example, *Qingdi* is the god of spring who is in the east. *Qingyang* refers to spring as well as the palace located in the east (*Cihai*⁹: 1826). It is possibly because the corresponding relationships according to the Wuxing are so influential and rooted in the cultural background that one meaning is easily connected with other meanings.

⁹ *Cihai*. 2009. *Cihai bianji weiyuanhui* [Cihai editorial committee]. Shanghai: Shanghai Cishu Chubanshe. *Cihai* is a large comprehensive dictionary that serves the functions of a dictionary and encyclopaedic dictionary.

4.2.2.3 History

In ancient times, Chinese people wrote on bamboo slips before the invention of paper. The bamboo slips are the colour qing. The bamboo slips need to be dried on the fire before writing on them to prevent insect infestation and this process is called *shaqing* (kill qing), as (86), (87) and (88) show:

- (86) 杀青者，以火炙简令汗，取青易书复不蠹，谓之杀青，亦谓之汗简。（东汉；全汉文；严可均）

Shaqing means that the bamboo slips are roasted over a fire to remove the sweat and scrape off the greenish skin so that they will not be moth-eaten. This is called **shaqing**, also known as sweating slip. (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Quanhanwen*; Yan, Kejun)

- (87) 焚薪作炭，{石}石薄岸，治舍盖屋，削青代牒。（东汉；全汉文；严可均）

Burning waste wood for fuel, building stones to protect against floods, repairing houses and building new ones, scraping **qing** to use as writing tablets. (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Quanhanwen*; Yan, Kejun)

- (88) 孙子书，以杀青简，编以缥丝绳。（东汉；全汉文；严可均）

Sun Tzu wrote, killing **qingjian** (bamboo slips), braided with a misty silk cord. (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Quanhanwen*; Yan, Kejun)

Thus, manuscripts are described as *qing*, which are extended to refer to history books, probably because the main use of writings in the manuscripts of the ruling class is to record history. For example:

- (89) 《尚书》有青丝编目录。（东汉；全汉文；严可均）

Shangshu is catalogued with **qingsibian** (history records). (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Quanhanwen*; Yan, Kejun)

The position responsible for recording history is called *qingshishi* or *qingshizi* (*qing* history people, ‘historiographer’). For example:

- (90) 青史氏之記曰：[...]（战国；大戴礼记；戴德）

Qingshishi wrote: [...] (*Warring States Period*; *Dadailiji*; Dai, De)

- (91) 青史子书说：[...]（东汉；风俗通义；应劭）

Qingshizi had wrote: [...] (*Shilun*; *Fengsutongyi*; Ying, Shao)

In (90) and (91), *qingshi* (‘green history’) is used to refer to history and the *shi* and *zi* refer to the people who record history.

4.2.2.4 High-ranking Status in Hierarchy

As mentioned in 4.2.1, *qing* refers to the high ranks in political and social status because *qing* ribbon is conferred to high official positions according to the ribbon and seal regulation. The reason for *qing* ribbon being used by high ranks is probably because *qing* is one of the five standard colours which have high status. For example:

- (92) 复为丞相御史大夫。位上卿。副丞相。银印**青绶**。(东汉；前汉纪；荀悦)

He resumed his position as Prime Minister and Minister of History, named as Senior Minister, seconded to Prime Minister, and was awarded Silver Seal with **qingshou** ('qing ribbon'). (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Qianhanji*; Xun, Yue)

(92) shows that *qingshou* (qing ribbon) is conferred to the vice senior minister. In this sentence *qing* is in the literal use. Since *qingshou* together with *zishou* symbolises high ranks, *qingzi* is metaphorically used to refer to high-ranking status. For example:

- (93) 纁青拖紫，朱丹其毂。(东汉；全汉文；严可均)

Yuqingtuozi (wraps and drags qing and purple ribbons), and paints the wheels of the car he rides in red." (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Quanhanwen*; Yan, Kejun)

- (94) [...] 又安得**青紫**? (东汉；全汉文；严可均)

[...] so how can he get a **qingzi** (gaining high status)? (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Quanhanwen*; Yan, Kejun)

- (95) [...] **青紫**貂蝉。充牣宇内。(东汉；全汉文；严可均)

The room is full of **qingzi** (high-ranking officials). (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Quanhanwen*; Yan, Kejun)

4.2.2.5 (low-ranking status in hierarchy)

As mentioned in 4.2.1, *qing* is the colour worn by the common people in this period. For example:

- (96) **青绿**所常服，且勿止。(东汉；全汉文；严可均)

Commoners wear **qing** and lv clothing. (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Quanhanwen*; Yan, Kejun)

In this period, *qing* has the connotation of representing people with low ranking in the social hierarchy but does not develop into a metaphorical meaning.

4.2.2.6 (vitality)

Qing has a connotation of vitality in this period. For example:

- (97) 犹物生以青为（气）[色]，或予之也，物死青者去，或夺之也。（东汉；论衡；王充）
 Things are alive with **qing** as (qi) [colour], or given to it, and things die with the **qing** going, or taken away from it. (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Lunheng*; Wang, Chong)

In (97), *qing* is regarded as a colour that shows liveliness. If something is *qing* or is given *qing*, it is alive; if not, it is dead.

4.2.2.7 (immaturity)

The connotation of immaturity is found in this period, for example:

- (98) 物生也色青，其熟也色黄。人之少也发黑，其老也发白。黄为物熟验，白为人老效。物黄，人虽灌溉壅养，终不能青；发白，虽吞药养性，终不能黑。（东汉；论衡；王充）
 When things are unripe, they are in colour *qing*; when they are ripe, they are in colour *huang* (yellow). When a person is young, their hair is black; when they are old, their hair is white. Yellow is a test of maturity, and white is the effect of aging. Once things are yellow, although people irrigate and nourish them, they cannot turn **qing**; Once hair is white, although they can take medicine to nourish their health, the hair cannot turn black. (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Lunheng*; Wang, Chong)

(98) shows that *qing* represents the immaturity of things, in contrast to yellow which represents maturity. It also compares the immaturity and maturity of things to the youth and oldness of a person. The connotation of immaturity is generated from the etymological bases of plants because of the experience of the unripeness of plants characterised by the colour green.

4.2.2.8 (fear)

In this period, *qing* complexion is associated with the emotion of fear. For example:

- (99) ‘惊即面青，何也?’ ‘肝者主人，人者忧也，反骇肝胆为发怒，故上出青也。 [...]’（东汉；太平经）
 ‘Being frightened results in the face being **qing**, why?’ ‘The liver conquers humans; because humans are worried the liver and gallbladder are scared into anger, and thus the face becomes **qing**. [...]’ (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Taipingjing*)

(99) firstly proposes the question of why people's face turns *qing* when they are frightened based on the investigation, and then answers it using the theory of Chinese traditional medicine which largely works on the principle of Wuxing theory. In the theory of Qi of the Five Internal Organs, *qi* of the heart is red; *qi* of the lungs is white; *qi* of the liver is *qing*; *qi* of the kidney is purple-black; *qi* of the spleen is yellow. Five Internal Organs are associated with seven emotions: joy corresponds to the heart; anger to the liver; thoughtfulness to the spleen; worry and sorrow to the lungs; fear and fright to the kidney. Thus, the colour *qing*, the organ liver, and the emotion anger are associated according to Wuxing and Chinese traditional medicine theory. (99) explains that the complexion of *qing* occurs when a person is scared because it is related to the liver so its corresponding *qing* appears in the face.

4.2.2.9 (ill health)

In this period, sickness is accompanied by *qing* face colour. For example:

- (100) 療飲中蠱毒，令人腹內堅痛，面目青黃 [...] (晋; 四库全书; 葛洪)
Being poisoned causes abdominal pain and **qinghuang** face (Jin Dynasty; *Sikuquanshu*; Ge, Hong)
- (101) 所以知奴病者， [...], 察之如死青之兹。(东汉; 全汉文; 严可均)
the slave is sick, [...], observe and find that he looks like **qing** as dead.
(Eastern Han Dynasty; *Quanhanwen*; Yan, Kejun)

(100) and (101) show that *qing* has the connotation of ill health, but it does not develop into a metaphorical meaning.

4.2.3 Middle Chinese

According to CCL corpus, the metaphorical meanings of East, Spring, High-ranking Status in Hierarchy and the connotation of ill health continue to be used in MC as in previous periods, so they are not discussed here. The metaphorical meaning of History and the connotations of low-ranking status in hierarchy, vitality, and immaturity develop in this period, so they are discussed in 4.2.3.1, 4.2.3.2, 4.2.3.3 and 4.2.3.4. A connotation of anger and three emerging metaphorical meanings of Youth, Luxury and Rhetoric, and Brothel are found in this period, which are discussed in 4.2.3.5, 4.2.3.6, 4.2.3.7, and 4.2.3.8.

4.2.3.1 History

In this period, *qingshi* is a commonly used phrase to refer to history. For example:

- (102) 绿窗明月在，**青史**古人空。（唐；全唐诗；彭定求等）
The people in **qingshi** (lit. ‘qing history’) are gone. (Tang Dynasty; *Quantangshi*; Peng, Dingqiu etc.)
- (103) 他年**青史**总无名，我也能亨，你也能亨（能亨，乡音也）。（北宋；癸辛杂识；周密）
No name in the **qingshi** (‘qing history’). (Northern Song Dynasty; *Guixinzashi*; Zhou, Mi)
- (104) 於是上闻，赠孝昌县君，垂名**青史**。（唐；唐代墓志汇编续集；周绍良，赵超）
Hang the name in **qingshi** (to live in infamy). (Tang Dynasty; *Tangdaimuzhibianxuji*; Zhou, Shaoliang, Zhao, Chao)

As (102) and (103) show, *shi* (history) is modified by *qing* in the commonly used phrase *qingshi*. In (104), *chuimingqingshi* (reputation will go down in history) metaphorically means that achievements will earn eternal glory, which becomes a frequently used expression in later periods.

4.2.3.2 Low-ranking Status in Hierarchy

In this period, *qing* develops the metaphorical meaning of Low-ranking Status in Hierarchy. For example:

- (105) 婢唯著**青布衣** [...]（六朝；全梁文；严可均）
The servant only wears **qingbuyi** (lit. ‘qing cloth’) [...] (the Six Dynasties; *Quanliangwen*; Yan, Kejun)
- (106) [...] 时人号为四时仕宦言一年自**青**而绿及朱紫也。（北宋；册府元龟；王钦若）
People at the time called him Shishishihuan (speedy promotion), saying him got promoted from **qing** and lv to zhuzi. (Northern Song Dynasty; *Cefuyuanguai*; Wang, Qinruo)
- (107) 江州司马**青衫**湿（唐；全唐诗；彭定求_等）
Jiangzhou Secretaries have wet the **qingshan** official uniform (Tang Dynasty; *Quantangshi*; Peng, Dingqiu etc.)
- (108) **青袍**今已误儒生（唐；全唐诗；彭定求_等）
The **qingpao** now has wasted a Confucian scholar (Tang Dynasty; *Quantangshi*; Peng, Dingqiu etc.)

(105) shows that *qing* is worn by slaves. (106) indicates the ranking from low to high is *qing*, *lv* and *zhuzi*, so *qing* symbolises the low ranks. In (107) and (108), *qingshan* and *qingpao* represent the relegated or exiled officials.

4.2.3.3 (vitality)

Qing's connotation of vitality is often shown in the way pine and cypress remain *qing* and vigorous in winter. For example:

(109) 扬青于岁寒之后，不揆世以投迹 [...] (六朝；抱朴子；葛洪)
Raising **qing** after the cold of the year [...] (the Six Dynasties; *Baopuzi*; Ge, Hong)

(110) [...] 松柏长青不怕寒。(五代；祖堂集；释静，释筠)
[...] the pines and cypresses are **changqing** (evergreen) and not afraid of the cold. (the Five Dynasties; *Zutangji*; Shi, Jing, Shi Yun)

4.2.3.4 Immaturity

In (111), *qingji* indicates the prostitute is underage and immature (a virgin), which shows that the metaphorical meaning of *qing* here is Unripeness. For example:

(111) 谢家青妓邃重关，谁省春风见玉颜。(唐；全唐诗；彭定求等)
Qingji (virgin prostitute) of Xie family is proficient in difficult closure; who knows spring wind meets the beauty. (Tang Dynasty; *Quantangshi*; Peng, Dingqiu etc.)

4.2.3.5 (anger)

The connotation of anger is shown in this period. For example:

(112) 时雍益怒，面色变青，徐取笔，勾去“直秘阁”字。(北宋；辩诬笔录；赵鼎)
Shiyong became angrier with his complexion turning **qing**; Xu took the pen and deleted the words 'Zhimige' (Northern Song; *Bianwubilu*; Zhao, Ding)

(112) depicts that when the person is angry, the complexion turns *qing*. The association between anger and *qing* can be rooted in both physiological observation of the colour of complexion and the cultural factors of Wuxing and Chinese traditional medicine theory (see 4.2.2.8).

4.2.3.6 Youth

The metaphorical use of *qing* referring to youth has different expressions and motivations. *Qingchun* is used to express the meaning of youth, which develops from the metaphorical meaning of Spring. Spring is the time of year when the grass and trees start to grow, and it is mapped onto the early stage of growth of people, which is the youth of human beings.

For example:

- (113) 郎君得意及**青春** [...] (唐; 全唐诗; 彭定求等)
Langjun is proud of the **qingchun** (lit. ‘qing spring’, youth). (Tang Dynasty; *Quantangshi*; Peng, Dingqiu etc.)
- (114) [...] 虚生浪死过**青春**。(五代; 鉴诫录; 何光远)
[...] live a wasted life and the **qingchun** is gone. (the Five Dynasties; *Jiejianlu*; He, Guangyuan)
- (115) 今大王**青春**袭爵 (北宋; 西夏事略)
Today the king inherited a royal title at **qingchun** (Northern Song Dynasty; *Xixiashilue*)

According to an entry in *Cihai*:

- (116) 李善注: 素秋, 喻老; **青春**, 喻少也
Shan Li notes: Suqiu (white autumn), a metaphor for old age, and **qingchun** (qing spring), a metaphor for youth

It implies that human age is mapped onto seasons. A year starts in the spring, then passes through summer and autumn, and ends with winter. Thus, the early stage of the human life cycle (youth) is compared to spring and the late stage of the human life cycle (old age) is compared to autumn. This represents the well-known metaphor A LIFETIME IS A YEAR, which also found in English. Firstly, *qing* refers to spring. *Qingchun* means that spring is in the colour *qing*. Then, due to spring representing the beginning of a year (mainly because the plants revive at this season), the early period of a year is mapped onto the early stage of the human life cycle. In addition, humans at a young age are full of vitality and liveliness, which is similar to the flourishing plants in spring. Therefore, the word *qingchun* shifted its literal meaning of ‘spring in the colour *qing*’ to the metaphorical meaning of Youth.

In addition, *qinjin(zi)* meaning people wearing qing clothes metaphorically refers to young students. The students often wear qing clothes in this period. As the students are usually young, *qingjin(zi)* is extended to refer to young people.

- (117) 黄发击壤，青衿兴歌。（五代：敦煌变文集新书；潘重规）
Huangfa (old people) drum, **qingjin** (young people) sing. (the Five Dynasties; *Dunhuangbianwenjixinshu*; Pan, Chonggui)

In (117), *qingjin* is the counterpart of *huangfa* (elderly), so it refers to young people.

4.2.3.7 Luxury and Rhetoric

Lacquer of qing colour is widely used in the decorations of buildings and carriages. As the colour is bright, the decorations in qing colour show luxury and refinement. Thus, *qing* develops the metaphorical meaning of Luxury and Rhetoric when *qing* metaphorically refers to luxury and rhetoric rather than the actual colour in this period. For example:

- (118) 组钵生华，入青楼而吐曜；（六朝：全梁文；严可均）
The eating utensils are beautiful and lustrous, and shine when they enter the **qinglou** (lit. ‘qing building’, luxurious building). (the Six Dynasties; *Quanliangwen*; Yan, Kejun)
- (119) 遥羨青楼人，锦衾方远梦。（唐：全唐诗；彭定求等）
Envy **qinglouren** (‘qing building people’, those in gorgeous building), who tuck in brocaded coverlet and have a dream of missing someone who is far away. (Tang Dynasty; Quan, Dingqiu etc.)
- (120) [...] 青轩华毂 [...]（六朝：全梁文；严可均）
Qingxuanhuagu (‘qing carriage magnificent cart’, luxurious carriage) (the Six Dynasties; *Quanliangwen*; Yan, Kejun)
- (121) 金榜开青琐，骄奢半隐沦。（唐：全唐诗；彭定求等）
Roll of honour opens **qingsuo** (‘qing ornament’, luxurious residence). (Tang Dynasty; Quan, Dingqiu etc.)
- (122) [...] 实旷代之高手，词彩葱青，音韵铿锵 [...]（六朝：全梁文；严可均）
[...] unrivalled expert; writing style is **congqing** (‘leek qing’, rhetoric); phonology is sonorous (the Six Dynasties; *Quanliangwen*; Yan, Kejun)

In (118) – (121), *qing* in the phrases of *qinglou*, *qingxuan*, *qingsuo* describe the luxury of buildings and carriages. (122) shows that the writing style is described as *qing*, which means it is rhetoric in style.

4.2.3.8 Brothel

In the Tang and Song dynasties, *qinglou* refers to brothels. It possibly develops from the metaphorical meaning of Luxury and Rhetoric because the brothels are usually located in luxurious buildings. For example:

- (123) 对舞**青楼**妓（唐；李白诗；李白）
A pair of dancing **qinglouji** (lit. ‘qing building prostitute’, prostitute in the brothel) (Tang Dynasty; *Libaishi*; Li, Bai)
- (124) 妾向**青楼**已生怨（唐；全唐诗；彭定求等）
The concubine has already become resentful in the **qinglou** (‘qing building’, brothel) (Tang Dynasty; *Quantangshi*; Peng, Dingqiu etc.)

4.2.4 Early Modern Chinese

According to CCL, the metaphorical meanings of East, Spring, History, High-ranking Status in Hierarchy, and Low-ranking Status in Hierarchy, Luxury and Rhetoric, and Brothel, and the connotation of ill health continue to be used in EModC as in previous periods, so they are not discussed here. Vitality, the connotation of ill health and Youth develop in this period, so they are discussed in 4.2.4.1, 4.2.4.3 and 4.2.4.4. Anger develops into a metaphorical meaning. The connotation of fear develops in this period. Because they are both emotions motivated by the same metonymic basis of skin, they are discussed together in 4.2.4.2. Another emerging metaphorical meaning of Completion and one connotation of eeriness are found in this period, which are discussed in 4.2.4.5 and 4.2.4.6.

4.2.4.1 Vitality

In this period, *qing* develops the metaphorical meaning of Vitality.

- (125) 悬崖挂索藤花败，松竹凝寒色更**青**。（明；西游记；吴承恩）
The color of pine and bamboo is even more **qing** (vigorous) in the cold. (Ming Dynasty; *Xiyouji*; Wu, Chengen)
- (126) 祝寿如山岁岁**青**。（南宋；全宋词）
May your life be as **qing** like the mountains **qing** every year. (Southern Song Dynasty; *Quansongci*)
- (127) [...] 你我兄弟**青山不改绿水常流**，他年相见，后会有期。（清；彭公案；贫梦道人）

Our friendship never changes and lasts like **qingshan** ('qing hills') and lvshui (lv water); we will meet again some day. (Qing Dynasty; Pengongan; Taoist priest Tanmeng)

(125) still shows the qing and vigour of pine and cypress in winter as in 4.2.2.6. In (126), the speaker wishes the life-span of the person whose birthday is being celebrated to be like the evergreen of the mountain. This shows that *qing* metaphorically refers to vitality. In (127), the phrase *qingshanbugai lvshuichangliu* is used to describe a long-lasting friendship, in which *qing* is actually in literal use. However, through the example, it is clear that *qingsong* or *qingshan* are regarded as being evergreen and full of vitality, and they are used to describe the life-span and the friendship, which means that *qing* develops the metaphorical meaning of Vitality.

4.2.4.2 (fear), Anger

CCL shows that fear is often accompanied by the description of *qing* complexion. For example:

(128) [...] 吓得面色**青**, 往后倒退 [...] (清; 野叟曝言; 夏敬渠)
[...] scared in **qing**, and walk backwards (Qing Dynasty; *Yesoupuyan*; Xia, Jingqu)

(129) [...] 这一惊不小, 登时脸色发**青**, 厥晕倒地。(清; 野叟曝言; 夏敬渠)
She or he was so scared and shocked that their face turned **qing**. (Qing Dynasty; *Yesoupuyan*; Xia, Jingqu)

(128) and (129) show the description of *qing* face with the emotion of fear, which is ambiguous between the literal meaning of the actual green face and the figurative expression of fear.

Qing is associated with another emotion of anger, and it develops into a metaphorical meaning. The examples are as follows:

(130) 仙姑听到这里, 气得蛾眉倒竖, 粉面呈**青**, 半晌说不出一句话来。
(清; 八仙得道)
Female immortal heard this, and her eyebrows raised upwards and her face was **qing** with rage; (she) could not say a single word. (Qing Dynasty; *Baxiandedao*)

(131) 只见那十三妹听了这话, 腮颊边起两朵红云, 眉宇间横一团**青气**
[...] (清; 侠女奇缘; 文康)

When Shisanmei heard this, two red clouds appeared on her cheeks, and a **qingqi** ('qing gas', anger) appeared between her two eyebrows [...] (Qing Dynasty; *Xianvqiyuan*; Wen, Kang)

- (132) [...] 看那道姑身穿一件破衣，手中拿着一枝芝草，满面**青气**，好不吓人。(清；镜花缘；李汝珍)

That female Taoist priest wore a torn cloth and held a grass, with **qingqi** on whole face, who was very dreadful. (Qing Dynasty; *Jinghuayuan*; Li, Ruzhen)

In (130), the anger of the female immortal is described as face in *qing* colour, which is a literal meaning. (131) and (132) show that the anger is expressed by *qingqi* on the face, which is a figurative description. This metaphorical use of *qing* is because of the theory of Chinese traditional medicine, which associated the liver, the colour *qing* and the emotion anger (see 4.2.2.8).

4.2.5.3 (ill health)

The connotation of ill health is continuously used in this period and it develops in a metaphorical way. For example:

- (133) [...] 众英雄看见尉迟肖脸面**青紫**，口眼紧闭 [...] (清；小八义)
[...] All the heroes saw Xiao Yuchi's face being **qingzi**, with mouth and eyes tightly closed [...] (Qing Dynasty; *Xiabayi*)

- (134) 晁无晏饿眼见了瓜皮，扑着就啃。眼看着晁无晏上眼皮不离了下眼皮打盹磕睡，渐渐的加上打呵欠；又渐加上颜色**青黄**；再渐加上形容黑瘦，加上吐痰，加上咳嗽，渐渐的痰变为血，嗽变成喘，起先好坐怕走，渐渐的好睡怕坐，后来睡了不肯起来。(明；醒世姻缘传；西周生)

Wuyan Chao saw the melon skin and bit it. Wuyan Chao snapped and gradually yawned; then gradually added the colour **qinghuang** (on his face); then gradually added the black and thin appearance and spit and cough, and the phlegm became blood, the cough became pant; in the beginning, he liked to sit and did not want to walk and then liked to sleep and did not want to sit, finally he slept and did not want to wake up. (Ming Dynasty; *Xingshiyinyuanzhuan*; Xizhousheng)

In (133) and (134), complexion in *qing* refers to ill health. Although the exact sickness is not clarified, *qing* is used in a literal sense.

4.2.4.4 Youth

In EModC, *qingchun* metaphorically refers to Youth, as in the previous period, as (135) shows.

- (135) 你正**青春**年少 [...] (元; 杂剧 2; 徐征)
You are **qingchun** and in young age [...] (Yuan Dynasty; *Zujv* 2; Xu, Zheng)

Interestingly, *qing* refers to Youth in another way from this period. In (136) and (137), *qing* is used to modify *nian* (age) in the phrases *nianqing* and *qingnian* (lit. age green, green age). This suggests that *qing* itself is used in its metaphorical meaning of Youth to describe human age.

- (136) [...] 原来是一位俊俏**年青**的人物 (清; 三侠; 张杰鑫)
[...] It's a handsome **nianqing** ('age qing', young) man (Qing Dynasty; *Sanxia*; Zhang, Jiexin)
- (137) 为甚**青年**便头白 (元; 杂剧 3; 徐征)
Why does the hair turn grey in his **qingnian** ('qing age', youth)? (Yuan Dynasty; *Zaju* 3; Xu, Zheng)

The CLL shows that the metaphorical meaning of Youth is also extended to refer to a superordinate term covering any age. For example:

- (138) 西门庆道: '不敢动问娘子**青春**多少?' 那妇人应道: '奴家虚度二十三岁。' (明; 水浒传; 施耐庵, 罗贯中)
Qing Ximen said: 'Could I ask what your **qingchun** (age) is?' That woman answered: 'I am twenty-three.' (Ming Dynasty; *Shuihuquanzhuan*; Shi, Naian, Luo, Guanzhong)
- (139) 时来道: '年兄**青春**几何' 于冰道: '十九岁了。' (清; 绿野仙踪; 李百川)
Shilai said: 'My elder brother what is your **qingchun**?' Yubing said: 'I am nineteen.' (Qing Dynasty; *Lvyexianzong*; Li, Baichuan)
- (140) '尊驾家中都有什么人? **青春**几何?' 广太说: '今年十六岁, 家中老母兄嫂。' (清; 康熙侠义传; 贪梦道人)
'Who are the members of your family? What are their **qingchun**?'
Guangtai said: 'I am sixteen years old. I have my mother, brother and sister-in-law in my family.' (Qing Dynasty; *Kangxixiayizhuan*; Taoist priest Tanmeng)

4.2.4.5 Completion

Shaqing originally and literally means the final part of the process of making bamboo slips for the medium of writing (see 4.2.2.2). It then metaphorically refers to the completion of literary work. For example:

- (141) 州县志书，不过一时游宦之士，偶尔过从；启局**杀青**，不逾岁月
[...](清；文史通义；章学诚)
State and county books are only written by contemporary travelling eunuchs who occasionally pass by; the start and the **shaqing** (completion) do not experience more than a few years [...](Qing Dynasty; *Wenshitongyi*; Zhang, Xuecheng)
- (142) **杀青**未毕，而观者骇愕，以为创特，又岂一邑之书，而实天下之书矣。(清；文史通义；章学诚)
Shaqing has not finished, but the readers were surprised and thought it is created a distinguished work which is not a book about one place but actually a book of the whole land. (Qing Dynasty; *Wenshitongyi*; Zhang Xuecheng)

(141) shows *shaqing* refers to completion. This metaphorical meaning is a mapping from the final process of making a writing medium to the completion of a literary work. In (142), *shaqing* also refers to the completion of a literary work.

4.2.4.6 (eeriness)

Qinglian or *qingmian* (qing face) are used to express a ferocious appearance, especially of a ghost. For example:

- (143) [...] 孙儿千忠接见，他也是**青脸獠牙**，使一柄大斧，倒有八百余斤，两膀有千斤之力。(清；说唐全传)
He was received by his grandson, Qianzhong, who also had **qingmianliaoya** ('qing face and fangs'), and made a great axe that is more than eight hundred catties (four hundred kilogram), and his two bladders had the strength of a thousand pounds. (Qing Dynasty; *Shuotangquanzhuan*)
- (144) 新妇**青面**赤发。状如奇鬼。吾怖而走。(清；阅微草堂笔记；纪昀)
The bride has **qingmianchifa** ('qing face and red hair'). She looked like a strange ghost. I went away in terror. (Qing Dynasty; *Yueweicaotangbiji*; Ji, Yun)

The description of *qingmian* is ambiguous between the literal meaning of the actual *qing* face and a figurative expression of ferocious appearance.

4.2.5 Late Modern Chinese

The metaphorical meanings of History, Vitality, Rascal, Youth, Brothel and the connotation of ill health continue to be used in LModC as in previous periods. According to CCL corpus, the connotation of fear and the metaphorical meaning of Anger, and the metaphorical meanings of Immaturity, Completion and the connotation of eeriness develop in this period, which are discussed in 4.2.5.2, 4.2.5.3 and 4.2.5.4.

4.2.5.1 Immaturity, Inexperience

Qing's connotation of immaturity metaphorically develops to describe achievements, skills and human beings. For example:

- (145) 比如，使用催熟剂，可以让**青涩**的未成熟果子迅速变红变软“成熟”起来，但果子的味道还是“**青**”的。（报刊；人民日报）
For example, the use of ripening agents can make **qingse** and unripe fruit quickly turn red and soft and ‘ripen’, but the fruit still tastes ‘**qing**’.
(*Renminribao*)

(145) shows the literal use of *qingse*. This phrase is composed of two characters *qing* referring to the colour *qing* and *se* referring to the astringent taste of an unripe fruit, so it originally means unripe fruits.

- (146) [...] 史学界呈献出他们的初步成果。尽管这果子还有点**青涩**，却是书林二十多年来所罕见的收获 [...]（1979；报刊 读书）
[...] The historians present their first fruits. Though the fruit is still a bit **qingse**, it is a rare harvest in more than twenty years of the book forests [...] (1979; Newspaper *Dushu*)

- (147) 梅若鸿试图把国画与西画，融合于一炉，可惜手法**青涩**生嫩 [...]（1996；水云间；琼瑶）
Ruohong Mei tried to integrate Chinese painting with Western painting, but unfortunately, his methods are **qingse** and raw [...] (1996; *Shuiyunjian*; Qiongyao)

(146) and (147) show *qingse* is extended to describe achievements and skills. In addition, *qingse* is often used to describe human beings. For example:

- (148) 他们就像小柠檬一样，**青涩**稚嫩、活泼可爱。（2010s；微信公众号）
They are like little lemons, **qingse** and tender, lively and lovely. (2010s; Wechat subscription)

- (149) 随着**青涩**年少的远去，知道长相忆比长相聚更为可贵（1994；报刊读者）

As the **qingse** youthfulness goes away, I know that long memories are more precious than long gatherings. (1994; Newspaper *Duzhe*)

Qingse in (148) and (149) is used to describe young and naïve people, focused on the immaturity in age. It also emphasises the immaturity of the ability of the youth. For example:

- (150) 富有现代审美的画面语言，展现了青年一代从**青涩**走向成熟、走向坚定的精神面貌。（2022；报刊 人民日报）

A modern aesthetic language shows the young generation from **qingse** to maturity. (2022; Newspaper *Renminribao*)

- (151) 几乎每个大学生都会接受时间的打磨，从**青涩**到老辣，从懵懂到成熟。（2010s；网络语料 微信公众号）

Almost every college student receives the polish of time, from **qingse** to old-fashionedness, from ignorance to maturity. (2010s; Wechat subscription)

In (150) and (151), *qingse* refers to the immature ability or capacity of the young generation, which is regarded as the metaphorical meaning of Inexperience in the present study.

4.2.5.2 (fear), Anger

Qing has the connotation of fear in this period as in EModC (see 4.2.4.2). For example:

- (152) 武士登時唬得顏色也變了，臉都**青**了 [...]（1878；伊苏普寓言；中田敬义）

The samura is scared to change complexion and his face turned **qing** [...] (1878; *Yisupuyuyan*; Zhongtian, Jingyi)

As mentioned in 4.2.4.2, fear is often accompanied by the description of *qing* complexion. In this period, *qing* develops a metaphorical meaning of Anger. For example:

- (153) [...] 他脸色顿时**铁青**，陡地站起，冲出了房门。（1987；报刊 人民日报）

His face suddenly turned **tieqing** ('extremely qing'), stood up and rushed out of the door. (1987; Newspaper *Renminribao*)

- (154) 我将情报火速呈送卫长官。卫长官看完情报，脸色**铁青**，一拳砸翻了桌上的作战沙盘……我从来没有见过长官发这么大的脾气...（1991；大国之魂；邓贤）

I presented the intelligence to Officer Wei immediately. After reading the intelligence, Officer Wei's face turned **tieqing** and he smashed the combat sand table on the table with one fist ... I have never seen the officer lose his temper so badly... (1991; *Daguozhihun*; Deng, Xian)

Unlike the connotation of fear, the emotion fear is not clarified but is expressed by the *qing* complexion in these sentences. The complexion could be the literal *qing* colour but it is more likely a metaphorical use to express the emotion.

4.2.5.3 Completion

Shaqing's metaphorical meaning further develops in this period. For example:

- (155) 几天前有一篇文章刚刚**杀青**，题目是《重议评点派》。(1986; 报刊人民日报)

There was an article just **shaqing** a few days ago, and its title is *Chongyipingdianpai*. (1986; Newspaper *Renminribao*)

- (156) 当时，电影已**杀青**，并开始往后一整年的后制阶段。(2010s; 中文维基)

By that time, the movie had already been **shaqing** and was in the post-production stage for the next full year. (2010s; Chinese Wiki)

(155) shows *shaqing* refers to the completion of literary work. In (156), *shaqing* refers to the completion of a movie. It shows that the metaphorical use of the phrase is extended to other media.

4.2.5.4 Eeriness

The phrase *qingmianliaoya* ('*qing* face and fangs') indicates a ferocious appearance. For example:

- (157) 和一伙**青面獠牙**人的笑，和前天佃户的话，明明是暗号。(1923; 呐喊; 鲁迅)

The laugh with a gang of **qingmianliaoya** people, and the words of the tenant of the day before, were plainly code words. (1923; *Nahan*; Lu, Xun)

- (158) [...] 中国共产党被污蔑为一群随意杀人、不讲人权，**青面獠牙**，十恶不赦的人。(1991; 报刊人民日报)

The Chinese Communist Party has been vilified as a group of people who kill at will, have no regard for human rights, are **qingmianliaoya** and unforgiving. (1991; Newspaper *Renminribao*)

- (159) [...] 几张亲属的脸，都像带个似笑非笑的轻蔑表情，难看得有如青面獠牙的鬼，冲着她而来。(1991; 香港作家)
 The faces of several of her relatives, all of which looked as if they wore an expression of smirking contempt, were as ugly as the **qingmianliaoya** ghosts that rushed at her. (1991; Hongkong writer)

These sentences show that *qingmianliaoya* does not literally describe the complexion and the teeth, but metaphorically refers to the relentlessness and viciousness. *Dacidian* shows that this phrase also refers to an eerie atmosphere and provides an example as follows:

- (160) 这青面獠牙的天日是多么鬼气阴森 (汉语大词典 11: 530)
 How eerie this *qingmianliaoya* day is (*Dacidian* 11: 530)

4.2.6 Summary

The diachronic investigation of each metaphorical sense reveals different stages of their metaphorical development:

East: Qing has the connotation of ‘east’ etymologically. In OC, the association between the connotation of ‘east’ and the colour green are explicit. In this period, *qing* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Easter to describe the area or palace. In MC and EModC, East continues to be used.

Spring: Qing has the connotation of ‘spring’ etymologically. In OC, the association between the connotation of ‘spring’ and *qing* are explicit. *Qing* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Spring to describe the time or the god who governs spring. In MC and EModC, Spring continues to be used.

History: In OC, the metonymic basis of bamboo slips and the colour *qing* are explicit, and they metonymically refer to history. *Qing* is metaphorically used to describe the abstract concept of history and the historiographer. In EModC and LModC, History continues to be used.

High-ranking Status in Hierarchy: In OC, the metonymic basis of ribbon and the colour *qing* are explicit, and the connotation of ‘high ranking status’ is implied by the colour. *Qing* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of High-ranking Status in Hierarchy to describe the abstract concept of official and social status. In MC and EModC, High-ranking Status in Hierarchy continues to be used.

Low-ranking Status in Hierarchy: In OC, the metonymic basis of clothing and the colour *qing* are explicit, and the connotation of ‘low-ranking status’ is implied by the colour. In MC, the colour and the metonymic bases of clothes are together metaphorically used to describe the official and social status of people. This metaphorical use keeps the conceptual link with the metonymy compared to those who are fully deprived of the metonymic basis, so its metaphoricity is slightly lower.

Immaturity: In OC, the metonymic basis of fruit and the colour *qing* are explicit, and the connotation of ‘immaturity’ is implied by the colour. In MC, *qing* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Immaturity to describe the prostitute. In LModC, it describes achievements, skills and human beings.

Youth: In MC, the colour and the metonymic bases of spring are together metaphorically used to describe the youth of people. In EModC, *qing* is also directly used to express the metaphorical meaning of Youth to describe the abstract concept of age. In LModC, Youth continues to be used.

Luxury and Rhetoric: In MC, the colour and the metonymic bases of painting are together metaphorically used to describe buildings, carriages and ornaments. This metaphorical use keeps the conceptual link with the metonymy compared to those who are fully deprived of the metonymic basis, so its metaphoricity is slightly lower. *Qing* is also used to express the metaphorical meaning of Rhetoric to describe the writing style. Luxury and Rhetoric continues to be used in EModC.

Brothel: In MC, the colour and the metonymic bases of painting are together metaphorically used to describe luxury buildings, which are extended to refer to brothel. *Qing* here is metaphorically used. Brothel continues to be used in EModC and LModC.

Vitality: In OC and MC, the metonymic bases of plants and the colour *qing* are explicit, and the connotation of ‘vitality’ is implied by the colour. In EModC, the colour and the metonymic bases of mountain are together metaphorically used to describe life-span and friendship. This metaphorical use keeps the conceptual link with the metonymy compared to those who are fully deprived of the metonymic basis, so its metaphoricity is slightly lower. Vitality continues to be used in LModC.

Anger: In MC, the metonymic basis of skin and the colour *qing* are explicit. It is ambiguous whether *green* is literally or metaphorically used to describe the emotion of anger. In EModC, *qing* is used to describe *qi*, and *qingqi* metaphorically refers to anger. In LModC, it is ambiguous whether *qing* is literally or metaphorically used to describe the emotion of anger, but it is more likely a metaphorical use to express the emotion of anger.

Completion: In EModC, the metonymic bases of bamboo slips and the colour *qing* are explicit. They together metaphorically express the meaning of completion and are used to describe literary works. In LModC, the phrase describes literary works and movies.

Eeriness: In EModC, the metonymic basis of face and the colour *qing* are explicit, and the connotation of ‘eeriness’ is implied by the colour. In LModC, they together metaphorically express the meaning of eeriness and are used to describe people, organisation and situation.

Inexperience: In LModC, the metaphorical meaning of Immaturity develops into another metaphorical meaning of Inexperience, which is used to metaphorically describe young people.

(ill health): In OC, the metonymic bases of skin and the colour *qing* are explicit, and the connotation of ‘ill health’ is implied by the colour. In EModC, the metonymic bases of skin and the colour *qing* are used to express ill health but the colour is still literally used. There is no evidence showing that its metaphoricity develops, so it is a connotation.

(fear): In EModC and LModC, the metonymic bases of face with the colour *qing* and the emotion of fear are explicit. It is ambiguous whether *qing* is literally or metaphorically used to describe the emotion of fear. Because the emotion of anger is explicit, the semantic highlight of *qing* is still the face colour. There is no evidence showing that its metaphoricity develops, so it is a connotation.

Table 4.3 summarises the metaphorical meanings of *qing* that this study found in four historical periods. Since the collection of metaphorical meanings of Chinese colour terms largely relies on the corpus evidence, Table 4.3 does not show the distinction between dictionary and corpus evidence by the bold format and the plus mark as *green*.

Table 4.3 Metaphorical meanings of *qing* in four historical periods

	Metaphorical meaning	Target domain	Occurrence in historical periods
1	East	1L07 DIRECTION	OC, MC, EModC
2	Spring	1M04 SEASON	OC, MC, EModC
3	History	3M06 LITERATURE	OC, MC, EModC, LModC
4	High-ranking Status in Hierarchy	3A09 SOCIAL POSITION	OC, MC, EModC
5	Low-ranking Status in Hierarchy	3A09 SOCIAL POSITION	(OC), MC, EModC
6	Immaturity	1O03 PREPARATION AND UNDERTAKING	(OC), MC, EModC, LModC
7	Youth	1B03 AGE	MC, EModC, LModC
8	Luxury and Rhetoric	1P26 QUANTITY	MC, EModC
9	Brothel	3F01 MORALITY AND IMMORALITY	MC, EModC, LModC
10	Vitality	1M02 DURATION IN TIME	(OC), (MC), EModC, LModC
11	Anger	2D01 EMOTION	(MC), EModC, LModC
12	Completion	1O07 COMPLETION	EModC, LModC
13	Eeriness	2C02 BAD	(EModC), LModC
14	Inexperience	1O03 PREPARATION AND UNDERTAKING	LModC
15	(ill health)	1C01 HEALTH	(OC), (MC), (EModC), (LModC)
16	(fear)	2D01 EMOTION	(OC), (EModC), (LModC)

As Table 4.3 shows, in OC, *qing* has four metaphorical meanings of East in DIRECTION, Spring in SEASON, History in LITERATURE and High-ranking Status in Hierarchy in SOCIAL POSITION and five connotations of low-ranking status in hierarchy, immaturity, vitality, ill health and fear. The last two connotations continue to be found in LModC but do not develop into metaphorical meanings. In this period, Wuxing Theory, according to which *qing* corresponds to Wood, influences the metaphorical development *qing*. It motivates how *qing* develops the connotations of east, spring and high values in representing hierarchy. In MC, *qing* has five emerging metaphorical meanings of Low-ranking Status in SOCIAL POSITION, Immaturity in PREPARATION AND UNDERTAKING, Youth in AGE, Luxury and Rhetoric in QUANTITY and Brothel in MORALITY AND IMMORALITY and one new connotation of anger. They all develop from the previous connotations and metaphorical senses of *qing*. In this period, the metonymic base of painting develops the metaphorical meaning of Luxury and Rhetoric and Brothel. In EModC, Vitality in DURATION IN TIME, Anger in EMOTION and Completion in COMPLETION are emerging. *Qing* develops a new connotation of eeriness because of the metonymic basis of face. In LModC, there are two emerging metaphorical meanings of Eeriness in 2C02 BAD and Inexperience in PREPARATION AND UNDERTAKING.

Based on the analysis of metaphorical meanings in sections 4.2.1 to 4.2.5 and their developments shown in Table 4.3, Figure 4.8 shows the course of the routes taken during the development of the metaphorical meanings:

Figure 4.7 Network of metaphorical meanings of *qing*

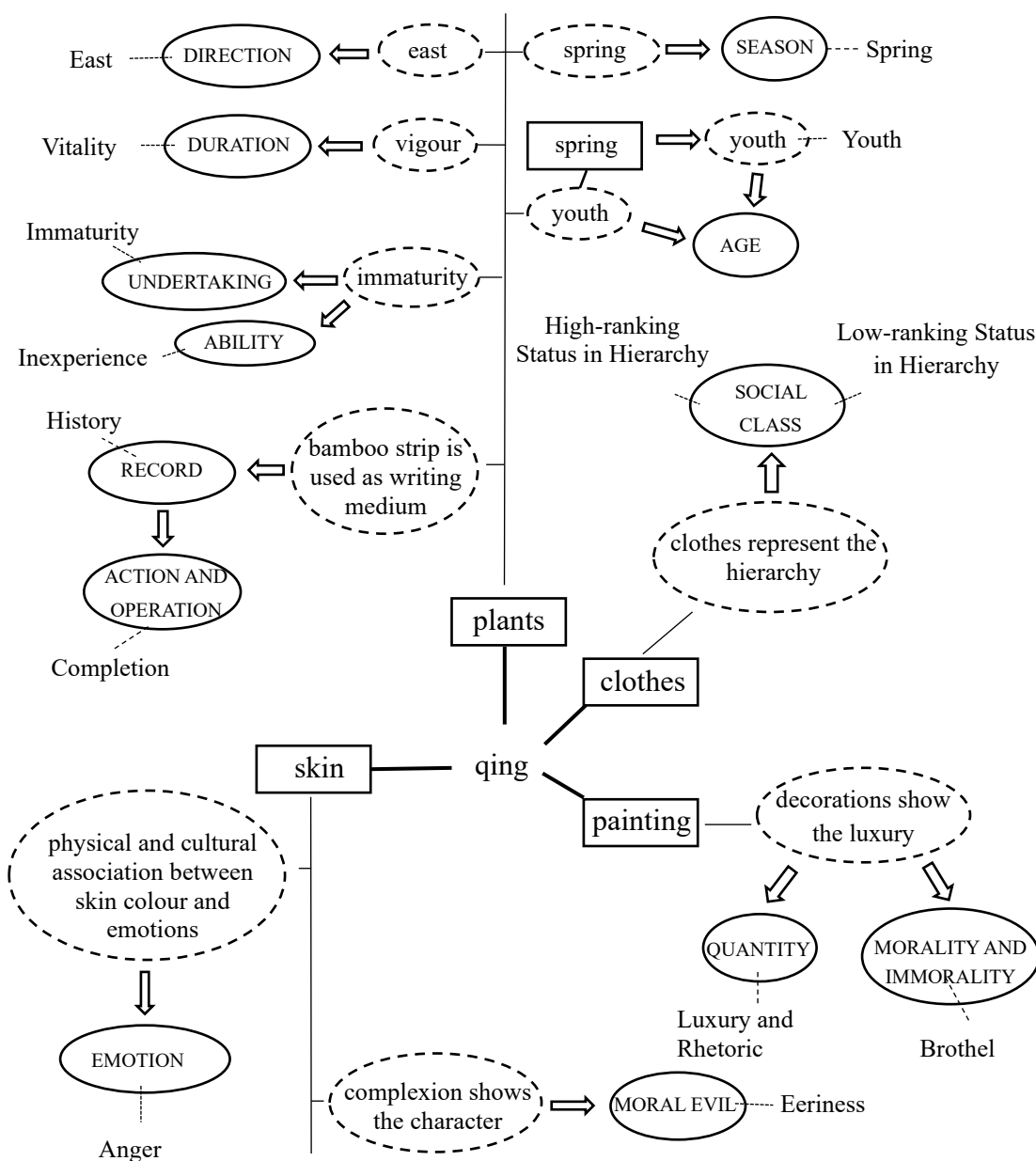


Figure 4.7 aims to show the development of each metaphorical meaning of *qing*, which is designed in the same way as *green* in 4.1.6. *Qing* is surrounded by four metonymic bases, plants, clothes, painting and skin. The metonymy of plants presents six connotations, east, spring, youth, vigour, immaturity, and writing medium. The connotation of the east is generalised to the domain of DIRECTION, deriving the metaphorical meaning of East. The connotation of spring is generalised to the domain of SEASON and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Spring. *Qing* develops the metaphorical meaning of Youth in two ways. In one way, *qing* with the connotation of youth is used to describe the metonymic

basis of spring, and then the domain of SPRING is mapped onto the domain of AGE to describe the youth of human beings. In another way, the connotation of youth is directly generalised to the domain of AGE, deriving the metaphorical meaning of Youth of human beings. The connotation of vigour is generalised to the domain of DURATION and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Vitality. *Qing* has a connotation of immaturity, which is generalised to the domain of UNDERTAKING (of a person or her/his capacities) and develops into the metaphorical meanings of Immaturity. It is extended to another domain of ABILITY and develops the metaphorical meaning of Ability. The connotation of writing medium is generalised to the domain of RECORD and develops into the metaphorical meaning of History. It is extended to another domain of ACTION AND OPERATION and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Completion.

The metonymy of clothes generates the connotation of clothes representing hierarchy, which is generalised to the domain of SOCIAL CLASS and develops into the metaphorical meaning of High-ranking Status in Hierarchy and Low-ranking Status in Hierarchy. The metonymy of painting generates the connotation of Luxury, which is generalised to the domain of QUANTITY and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Luxury and Rhetoric. This metaphorical meaning is extended to the domain of MORTALITY AND IMMORTALITY and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Brothel. The metonymy of skin generates two connotations. The connotation of complexion showing emotions is generalised to the domain of EMOTION, developing into the metaphorical meanings of Anger. The connotation of complexion showing characters is generalised to the domain of MORAL EVIL, developing the metaphorical meaning of Eeriness.

4.3 Lv 绿

4.3.1 presents the etymological metonymy and cultural connotations of *lv*, and the metaphorical meanings shown in *Dacidian*. In 4.3.2, 4.3.3, 4.3.4 and 4.3.5, metaphorical meanings collected in CCL corpus are shown in each historical period. 4.3.6 summarises the metaphorical meanings and the metaphorical development of *lv*.

4.3.1 Etymological metonymy and cultural connotations

According to ancient dictionaries, *Shiming* indicates *lv* is the colour of clear flowing water. *Shuowen* shows that *lv* refers to the green–yellow silk fabrics. *Ziyuan* says that the literal meaning of *lv* is the colour of grass and leaves when they are in their prime. When blue

pigment is combined with yellow pigment, the colour is green. In ancient times it was known as green–yellow (*Ziyuan*: 1138–1139). Thus, the literal meaning of *lv* is a mixture of blue and yellow in OC. After the Tang dynasty, when *lv* is used to describe the colour of hair and eyebrows, it refers to the colour black.

As the part of the character ‘𦰩’ indicates, the etymology of this character is related to fabric. Xiao (2011) indicates that ‘绿’ is a character acquiring meanings by phonetic association with ‘蓼’, which refers to a kind of plant (蓼草 *arthrxon hispidus*). This plant is a dyeing plant for the colour yellow and green (2011: 56–57), so *lv* 绿 etymologically refers to the colour of the clothing dyed by the plant 蓼草. It is probably because the dyed colour is like the colour of the plant itself that *lv* is used to refer to the colour of clothing and plants in early records. CCL corpus shows that *lv* often describe the colour of the plants (*lvye* ‘green leaves’, *lvcao* ‘green grass’, *lvzhu* ‘green bamboo’, *lvshui* ‘green water’) in OC. Thus, plants are the important and one of the earliest metonymic bases of *lv*. Xiao also claims that when *lv* refers to the colour of plants it is slightly different from *qing* as the colour of plants in pre-Qin dynasties. *Qing* refers to the colour of lush and abundant plants, which is close to the green–blue colour, while *lv* refers to the colour of a single leaf, which is close to the green–yellow colour (2011: 60).

Qing and *lv* are the main colours to describe the green colour of the plants from OC to LModC, while *qing* is replaced by *lv* as the basic colour term for GREEN in LModC. Wu (2012) finds that the character of *lv* appears in Yinshang dynasty but at that time it is not used as a colour term. *Lv* is not a frequently used colour term until the Tang–Song dynasty. In modern Chinese, although *qing* is still a frequently used colour term, it is removed from the basic colour terms because it refers to the three colours black, green and blue (2012: 11, 14).

In ancient Chinese culture, *lv* is regarded a colour with low cultural and social status in general. *Lv* is one of the integrated colours, which has a lower status than that of standard colours in the use of colour in the political and social hierarchy (as mentioned in 4.2.1). Integrated colours are popular in the market and the ruling class has to ban the selling of the clothing with integrated colours in pre-Qin dynasties, which is recorded in *Liji* (Xiao 2011: 59). The lower status of *lv* also develops into more negative connotation. Zhao (2009) describes the development of meanings of *lv*. In the Tang dynasty, wearing green clothes is the symbol of low social status. Zhao cites *Zhongguo changjishi* and indicates

that people call those whose wives and daughters are prostitutes *dai lvtoujin* (or *lvmaozi*) (wearing the green hat).

In LModC, *lv* gains an important symbolic meaning of environmentalism. In the 1980s, the environmentalism movement was introduced to China and then the concepts of the green movement, green development, green economy etc. were developed. *Lv*, which represents ecology because of its metonymic basis of vegetation, is a symbolic colour of environmentalism.

In conclusion, *lv*'s etymological metonymy is green plant-based dyes, but it is frequently used to describe plants. That is, plants are important metonymic bases of *lv*. When referring to plants, the hues of *qing* and *lv* are slightly different. The former refers to deeper green and the latter refers to shallow green in OC. In MC and EModC, *lv* gradually replaces *qing* as the basic colour term for GREEN, probably because of the need for one term to specify the green hue while *qing* refers to black, green, and blue. In LModC, *lv* is a basic colour term while *qing* is no longer a basic colour term. *Lv* has two important cultural connotations that develop into metaphorical meanings. One is that it represents the low ranks in the political and social hierarchy because it is an integrated colour that is regarded as having lower status than standard colours. The other is that it represents environmentalism because of its metonymic basis of ecology.

4.3.2 Old Chinese

No metaphorical meaning but two connotations of low-ranking status in hierarchy and luxury are found in this period, which are discussed in 4.3.2.1 and 4.3.2.2.

4.3.2.1 (low-ranking status in hierarchy)

Qing has the connotation of low-ranking status in hierarchy, which is reflected in the fact that clothes in *lv* colour are worn by commoners and people with low ranks in the social hierarchy. For example:

(161) 绿帻，贱人之服也。（汉；汉书；班固）

Lvze, the headwear of people with low status. (Han Dynasty; *Hanshu*; Ban, Gu)

(162) 青绿民所常服（东汉；前汉纪；荀悦）

Commoners wear *qing* and *lv* clothing. (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Qianhanji*; Xun, Yue)

4.3.2.2 (luxury)

Similar to *qing* in 4.2.3.7, green paint is used to decorate buildings and carriages, which is a symbol of luxury. Thus, *lv* has the connotations of luxury. For example:

- (163) 今故报以曲晨宝盖，琼闼**绿**室。（东汉；全汉文）
 Reward with a treasure cover and a **lvshi** (lv room, ‘gorgeous room’).
 (Eastern Han Dynasty, *Quanhanwen*)

In (163), *lvshi* refers to a gorgeous room because the correspondence of *lv* is *qiong* which means elegance and value, so *lv* has a connotation of extravagance and luxury. It is ambiguous whether it is literally or metaphorically used.

4.3.3 Middle Chinese

The connotation of luxury is continuously used as in the previous period, so it is not discussed here. The connotation of low-ranking status in hierarchy develops into a metaphorical meaning in this period.

4.3.3.1 Low-ranking Status in Hierarchy

Lv represents low ranks in the political hierarchy. For example:

- (164) 二人奪賜，無賜者貶其色，降紫從緋，降緋從**綠**，降**綠**從碧。（唐；通典；杜佑）
 The two were robbed of their fealty, and those who had no fealty lowered their colours, lowering purple to scarlet, scarlet to **lv**, and **lv** to turquoise.
 (Tang Dynasty; *Tongdian*; Du, You)
- (165) **绿衫**尚未能得着，乃思量系玉带乎？（北宋；齐东野语；周密）
 You haven’t even got **lvshan** (lit. ‘lv clothes’, the low official position) yet, and you’re thinking about jiyudai (wear the jade belt, ‘get the high official position?’)? (Northern Song Dynasty; *Qidongyeyu*; Zhou, Mi)
- (166) 莫打**绿袍**人，空中且歌舞。（唐；全唐诗；彭定求等）
 Don’t hit **lvpaoren** (lit. ‘lv long gown people’, people in low status); they are dancing in the air. (Tang Dynasty; *Quantangshi*; Peng, Dingqiu etc.)
- (167) 分手各抛沧海畔，折腰俱老**绿衫**中。（唐；全唐诗；彭定求等）
 Get apart in the ocean’s shore; debase oneself and get old in **lvshan** (low ranks). (Tang Dynasty; Peng, Dingqiu etc.)

However, *lv* is in its literal use in (164). In (165), *lvshan* does not refer to exact official positions, but generally refers to low-ranking official positions. In (166) and (167), *lvpao*

and *lvshan* metaphorically describe the low status and also the disillusionment of the relegated or exiled officials.

4.3.4 Early Modern Chinese

The metaphorical meaning of Low-ranking Status in Hierarchy is continuously used as in previous periods, so it is not discussed here. The connotation of luxury develops into a metaphorical meaning, so they are discussed in 4.3.4.1. Two emerging metaphorical meanings are found in this period: Adulterous Wife and Extravagant Life, which are discussed in 4.3.4.2 and 4.3.4.3. A connotation of eeriness emerges in this period, which is discussed in 4.3.4.4.

4.3.4.1 Luxury and Rhetoric

The phrase *huahualv* (colourful) metaphorically refers to Luxury and Rhetoric in this period. For example:

- (168) [...] 就代他把父亲花花绿绿办了一个丧葬，将他留下做了夫妇。
(清；续济公传；坑余生)

He gave his father a **huahualv** (fancy) funeral on his behalf. (Qing Dynasty; *Xujigongzhuan*; Keng, Yusheng)

- (169) [...] 滿紙洋文，寫的花花綠綠的。寶世豪不認得，發到洋務局叫翻譯去翻譯好。(清；李宝嘉；官场现形记)

The paper was full of foreign languages, written in a **huahualv** (flowery) style. Shihao Dou did not recognise it, so he sent it to the Foreign Affairs Bureau and asked an interpreter to translate it. (Qing Dynasty; *Guanchangxianxingji*; Li, Baojia)

The phrase *huahualv* in (168) metaphorically refers to the luxury of the funeral, and in (169) it is extended to the domain of Rhetoric to describe the writing.

4.3.4.2 Adulterous Wife

In the Han dynasty, *lv toujin* (green turban) is worn by people with low social status. In the Tang dynasty, prisoners are regulated to wear *lv toujin* as a sign of humiliation. During the Yuan and Ming dynasties, the husbands of prostitutes and actresses who have low social status are regulated to wear *lv toujin*. Thus, a man whose wife committed adultery (cuckold) is described as wearing *lv toujin* or *lvmaoer/lvmaozi* (green hat). For example:

- (170) [...] 作成老公帶了绿帽儿，羞也不羞？（明；醒世恒言；冯梦龙）

[...] the husband wears **lvmaoer**, are you ashamed? (Ming Dynasty; *Xingshihengyan*; Feng, Menglong)

- (171) 争奈这样混帐戴**绿头巾**的汉子，没等那老婆与他一点好气，便就在他面前争妍取怜。（明；醒世姻缘传）
But the husband who wears a **lvtoujin** is fighting for pity in front of him, not waiting for his wife to be kind to him. (Ming Dynasty, *Xingshiyinyuanzhuan*)

- (172) 此固由于妇女无知所致，但家长不能预为防范，预为开导，以致‘**绿头巾**’戴在顶上，亦由自取，归咎何人？（清；镜花缘；李汝珍）
This is certainly due to women’s ignorance, but parents are unable to take precautions and provide guidance in advance, resulting in the wearing of the ‘**lvtoujin**’ on the top of the head, which is also self-inflicted, so who should be blamed? (Qing Dynasty; *Jinghuayuan*; Li Ruzhen)

In these sentences, wearing *lvmaoer* and *lvtoujin* is used to describe a husband cheated on by his wife who is unfaithful in marriage. It is a great insult to men and an unforgivable sin by women in ancient times.

4.3.4.3 Extravagant Life

The phrase *denghongjiulv* (lit. ‘light is red and wine is green’) is used to describe an extravagant lifestyle. In traditional Chinese culture, *lv*yi (‘green ants’) refers to the green foam on the wine’s surface. Later on, *lv* wine refers to wine of good quality. The composition of *jiulv* equals *lvjiu* referring to good wine. The phrase *denghongjiulv* thus refers to an extravagant life. For example:

- (173) [...] 侧着头想了一会道：“‘**灯红酒绿**’好么？”我道：“也使得。”
（清；二十年目睹之怪现状；吴沃尧）
[...] turned head sideways and thought for a while, saying: ‘Do you think **denghongjiulv** is good?’ I answered: ‘Alright.’ (Qing Dynasty; *Ershinianmuduzhiguaixianzhuan*; Wu, Woyao)

4.3.4.4 (eeriness)

Similar to *qingmian* and *qinglian* discussed in 4.2.4.6, *lvlian* (‘green face’) refers to the ferocious appearance. For example:

- (174) **绿脸**獠牙青赤发（清；说唐全传）
Lvlian, fangs, and green-red hair (Qing Dynasty; *Shuotangquanzhuan*)
- (175) 金吒出城，偶见一个道者，生的十分凶恶。怎见得，有诗为证：发似硃砂脸带**绿**，獠牙上下金精目。（明；封神演义；许仲琳）

When Jinzha left the city, he saw a Taoist priest who was very fierce. How could he say that? There is a poem to prove it: His hair was like cinnabar, his face appears **lv**, and he has fangs and golden eyes. (Ming Dynasty; *Fengshenyanyi*; Xu, Zhonglin)

In (174) and (175), *lvlian* is used to describe the ferocious appearance.

4.3.5 Late Modern Chinese

The metaphorical use of Low-ranking Status in Hierarchy is not used in this period apart from the description of ancient life, and Extravagant Life is used as in the previous periods, so they are not discussed here. The metaphorical meanings of Luxury and Rhetoric and Adulterous Wife develop in this period, so they are discussed in 4.3.5.1 and 4.3.5.2. Three emerging metaphorical meanings of Environmentalism, Safe, Non-pollution and High Quality, Permission, which are discussed in 4.3.5.3, 4.3.5.4 and 4.3.5.5. The emerging metaphorical meaning of Anger and the emerging connotation of fear are discussed together in 4.3.5.6.

4.3.5.1 Luxury and Rhetoric

In this period, the phrase *huahualv* is still used to describe luxury and rhetoric as in 4.3.4.1. For example:

- (176) 访问回来后，少数有享乐思想的指战员们，开始认识了城市中的**花花绿绿**，都是剥削阶级的玩意儿，初步纠正了自己的错误思想。
(1949; 报刊 人民日报)

Upon returning from the visit, the few hedonistically minded commanders began to realise that the **huahualv** of the city was the stuff of the exploiting class, and initially corrected their erroneous thinking. (1949; Newspaper *Renminribao*)

- (177) 若只**花花绿绿**的堆字叠句，便变成呆板笨滞，无神采，无生气的文字。(1920; 文学家的造就; 冰心)

If you only pile up words and phrases in a **huahualv** way, it will become a dull, clumsy, uninspiring and lifeless text. (1920; *Wenxuejiadezaojiu*; Bingxin)

- (178) [...] 可曾想到北京城里的新闻纸上，**花花绿绿**的都载的是什么事?
(1921; 山中杂感; 冰心)

Have you ever thought about what's **huahualv** things on the newsprint in Beijing? (1921; *Shanzhongzagan*; Bingxin)

Huahuallv metaphorically refers to luxury in (176), and it refers to luxury of writing style, which is rhetoric, in (177) and (178).

Another phrase *hongnanlvnv* (or *nanhongnlv*) refers to young people decked out in gorgeous clothes. For example:

- (179) 您看**红男绿女**、马龙车水，这分兴高彩烈，有多们邪行。(1921; 益世余墨; 蔡友梅)

Look at **hongnanlvnv**, a flow of traffic and how evil this point of high spirits is. (1921; *Yishiyumo*; Cai, Youmei)

- (180) 一时**红男绿女**，纷至沓来，异服奇装，争妍斗胜，怪状万千，一言难尽。(1921; 益世余墨; 蔡友梅)

A time **hongnanlvnv**, come and go, different clothes and strange clothes, contending for supreme beauty, fantastic oddities of every description, and it is difficult to say in a word. (1921; *Yishiyumo*; Cai, Youmei)

Wang (2014) indicates that the phrase *honghanlvnv* originates from the wedding garments in the Tang dynasty, when women's wedding clothes are green and men's wedding clothes are red. Since wedding clothes are luxurious garments, this phrase is extended to express people in gorgeous clothes.

4.3.5.2 Adulterous Wife

In this period, the phrase *lv toujin* is replaced by *lvmaozi* because the common headwear is changed from *toujin* (turban) to *maozi* (hat). For example:

- (181) 李子俊老婆也不敢站在街头，她一站出来，人们就笑她：“嗯，她倒贴咱钱，咱也瞧不上眼，整天斜着眼睛瞧人，就想找**绿帽子**给她男人呢！”(1948; 太阳照在桑干河上; 丁玲)

Li Zijun's wife did not dare to stand on the street, she stood out, people laughed at her: 'Well, she poured money on us, we cannot look at the eye, all day long slanting eyes look at people, just want to find a **lvmaozi** (cuckold) to her man!' (1948; *Taiyangzhaozaisangganhesang*; Ding, Ling)

4.3.5.3 Environmentalism

As mentioned in 4.3.1, *lv* is a symbolic colour of environmentalism, which is introduced from the West. This metaphorical meaning is a common expression in this period. An example is:

- (182) 我们每个人都可以通过选择绿色的生活方式来参与环保 [...] (2010s; 微信公众号)
All of us can choose *lv* lifestyle to participant in environmentalism [...] (2010s; Wechat subscription)

Here the abstract concept of lifestyle is modified by *lv*, showing that *lv* is used in a metaphorical meaning of Environmentalism.

4.3.5.4 Safety, Non-pollution and High Quality

Lvse shipin (green edible products) refers to safe, high-quality, and nutritious edible agricultural products. These kinds of products are produced from an excellent ecological environment, in accordance with green food standards, which means that they are under full quality control and have the right to use the green food mark (Tan 2011:8). Safe and high-quality agricultural products are described as *lv* because the green colour represents excellent ecological environment, which means the products have no additives or pesticides and are of high quality. This metaphorical meaning of *lv* is often used in this period. An example is:

- (183) 绿色食品是无污染、安全、优质，营养类食品的统称。(1994; 报刊精选 06)
Lvse shipin (green edible products) is the collective name for unpolluted, safe, high-quality, nutritious food. (1994; *Newspaper Selection 06*)

- (184) 我们每天吃的很多蔬菜、水果都喷洒过农药，施过化肥，还有很多食品不适当地使用了添加剂。这样的食品会危害健康和智力，但是如果你吃的是绿色食品，就不用担心了。(2011; 准格尔旗环境保护局 绿色社区指导手册)
Many of the vegetables and fruits we eat every day have been sprayed with pesticides and fertilisers, and many other foods have inappropriately used additives. Such food can be hazardous to health and intelligence, but if you eat *lv* food, you don't have to worry. (2011; *Environmental Protection Bureau of Junggar Banner Green Community Guidebook*)

This sentence explains the definition of *lvse shipin* showing that *lv* represents a kind of food product that is unpolluted, safe, high quality and nutritious.

4.3.5.5 Permission

In modern Chinese, *lv* ('green') has commonly used metaphorical meanings of Permission, which has an implication of facilitation. This meaning derives from the implication of permission that has the metonymic basis of the special signals indicating the colour *lv*. In

traffic lights, the green lights indicate permission to proceed, developing the metaphorical meaning of permission and then extending the metaphorical meaning of Facilitation. This meaning is more than giving permission but enabling someone to do something. For example:

- (185) [...] 党的政策为农民开了**绿灯**，解决了农民的温饱问题。（当代；1994 年报刊精选 09）
 [...] the Party's policy gave the **lvdeng** ('lv light') to the peasants and solved their problem of food and clothing. (Contemporary, 1994 Newspaper Selection 09)

In (185), *lvdeng* refers to the facilitation that the government provides to peasants.

4.3.5.6 (fear), Anger

Similar to *qing*, *lv* has the connotation of fear and the metaphorical meanings of Anger. For example:

- (186) 瘦长的江湖客脸色发**绿**，就像是见了鬼似的（1970；多情剑客无情剑；古龙）
 The long, thin journeyman's face turned **lv**, as if he had seen a ghost (1970; *Duoqingcikewuqingjian*; Gulong)
- (187) 她的脸已吓得发**绿**，却还是不能动，只有眼睁睁的看着这条蛇在她身上爬。（1973；陆小凤传奇；古龙）
 Her face had turned **lv** with fear, but she still couldn't move, only to watch the snake crawl over her. (1973; *Luxiaofengchuanqi*; Gulong)
- (188) “不走的便永远不要走了！”大蝎的脸都气**绿**了，干张了几张嘴，一句话没说出来。（1933；猫城记；老舍）
 'Those who don't leave will never leave!' The Daxie's face turned **lv** with anger, and after dryly opening his mouth a few times, not a single word came out. (1933; *Maochengji*; Laoshe)
- (189) 东阳立在那里，脸慢慢的变**绿**，他妒，他恨！（1944；惶惑；老舍）
 Dong Yang stood there, his face slowly turning **lv**, he was jealous, he hated! (1944; *Huanghuo*; Laoshe)
- (190) 美国博士值几个子儿一枚？我问他。他没说什么，可是脸完全**绿**了。这还不要紧，从那天起，他好象死记上了我。（1935；樱海集；老舍）
 How many pennies is an American PhD worth? I asked him. He didn't say anything, but his face turned completely **lv**. It didn't matter. From that day on, he seemed to have a death wish for me. (1935; *Yinghaiji*; Laoshe)

In (186) and (187), the complexion of *lv* is used to describe the emotion fear. From (188) to (190), *lv* is used to express the emotion of anger. In (188) and (189), the emotions of anger, jealousy and resentment are clarified with the description of *lvlian* ('green face'), due to the fact that the complexion changes colour when people have intense emotions. In (190), the emotion is not made explicit but expressed by the green complexion, which shows that *lv* metaphorically refers to the emotion of anger. Because the metonymic basis face is explicit in the sentences, the meaning of *lv* could be ambiguous. The expressions could be interpreted as the face actually turning green, but it is more likely that they metaphorically express the emotion of anger.

4.3.6 Summary

The diachronic investigation of each metaphorical sense reveals different stages of their metaphorical development:

Low-ranking Status in Hierarchy: in OC, the metonymic bases of clothes and the colour *lv* are explicit, and the connotation of 'high ranking status' is implied by the colour. In MC, the colour and the metonymic bases of clothes are together metaphorically used to describe the official and social status of people. This metaphorical use keeps the conceptual link with the metonymy compared to those who are fully deprived of the metonymic basis, so its metaphoricity is slightly lower. In EModC, this metaphorical meaning continues to be used.

Luxury and Rhetoric: in OC, the metonymic basis of room and the colour *lv* are explicit, and the connotation of 'luxury' is implied by the colour. In EModC, *lv* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Luxury and Rhetoric to describe funeral and writing. In LModC, it describes city, writing and clothes.

Adulterous Wife: In OC and MC, *lv* has the connotation of low value. In EModC, the colour and the metonymic bases of head-wearing are together used to express the metaphorical meaning of Adulterous Wife and describe a man. In LModC, the metaphorical meaning continues to be used.

Extravagant Life: In EModC, the colour and the metonymic bases of wine are together used to describe an extravagant life. In LModC, the metaphorical meaning continues to be used.

(*eeriness*): In EModC, the metonymic basis of face and the colour *lv* are explicit, and the connotation of ‘*eeriness*’ is implied by the colour. There is no evidence showing that its metaphoricity develops, so it is a connotation.

Environmentalism, Safety, Non-pollution and High Quality: In LModC, influenced by *green*’s connotation of environmentally friendly, *lv* is metaphorically used to express the meanings of Environmentalism, and Safety, Non-pollution and High Quality.

Permission: In LModC, influenced by *green light*’s the connotation of permission to proceed because of the traffic light signals. The colour and the metonymic bases of traffic lights are together metaphorically used to describe the permission of policies.

Anger: In LModC, it is ambiguous whether *lv* is literally or metaphorically used to describe the emotion of anger. The emotion is not made explicit and expressed by the green complexion, so the semantic highlight of *lv* is the emotion of anger rather than the colour *lv*.

(*fear*): In LModC, it is ambiguous whether *lv* is literally or metaphorically used to describe the emotion of fear. There is no evidence showing that its metaphoricity develops, so it is a connotation.

Table 4.4 summarises the metaphorical meanings of *lv* that this study found in four historical periods.

Table 4.4 Metaphorical meanings of *lv* in four historical periods

	Metaphorical meaning	Target domain	Occurrence in historical periods
1	Low-ranking Status in Hierarchy	3A09 SOCIAL POSITION	(OC), MC, EModC
2	Luxury and Rhetoric	1P26 QUANTITY	(OC), (MC), EModC, LModC
3	Adulterous Wife	3F07 LICENTIOUSNESS	EModC, LModC
4	Extravagant Life	3F05 MORAL EVIL	EModC, LModC
5	(<i>eeriness</i>)	2C02 BAD	EModC
6	Environmentalism	3A06 SOCIAL COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE	LModC
7	Safety, Non-pollution and High Quality	1G01 FOOD AND EATING	LModC
8	Permission	3D05 AUTHORITY, REBELLION AND FREEDOM	LModC
9	Anger	2D01 EMOTION	LModC
10	(<i>fear</i>)	2D01 EMOTION	(LModC)

As Table 4.4 shows, in OC, two connotations of low-ranking status in hierarchy and luxury and rhetoric are found. In MC, *lv* develops one metaphorical meaning of Low-ranking Status in Hierarchy in SOCIAL position and one connotation of luxury and rhetoric. In EModC, four emerging metaphorical meanings of Luxury and Rhetoric in QUANTITY, Adulterous Wife in LICENTIOUSNESS and Extravagant Life in MORAL EVIL, and one connotation of eeriness in BAD are found. In LModC, there are four metaphorical meanings of Environmentalism in SOCIAL COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE, Safety, Non-pollution and High Quality in FOOD AND EATING, Permission in AUTHORITY, REBELLION AND FREEDOM and Anger in EMOTION and a connotation of fear in EMOTION.

Based on the analysis of metaphorical meanings in sections 4.3.1 to 4.3.5 and their developments shown in Table 4.4, Figure 4.8 shows the course of the routes taken during the development of the metaphorical meanings:

Figure 4.8 Network of metaphorical meanings of *lv*

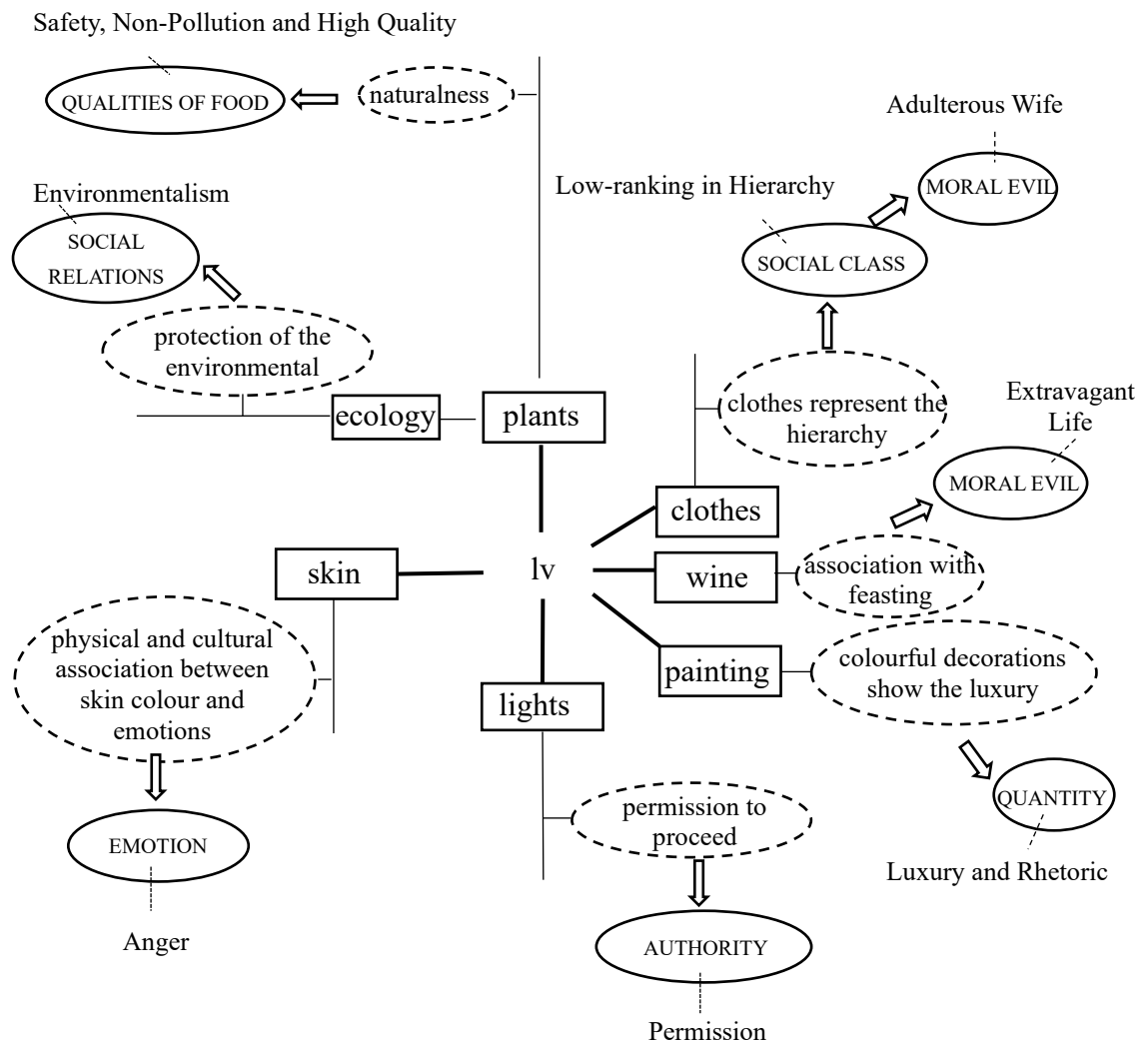


Figure 4.8 aims to show the development of each metaphorical meaning of *lv*. *Lv* is surrounded by six metonymic bases, plants (which has a derivation metonymy of ecology), clothes, wine, painting, lights and skin. The metonymy of plants has one connotation of naturalness. This connotation is generalised into the domain of QUALITIES OF FOOD and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Safety, Non-pollution and High Quality.

The metonymic basis of ecology is an extension of the metonymic bases of plants of *lv*. It has one connotation of protection of the environment, which is generalised into SOCIAL RELATIONS and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Environmentalism.

The metonymy of clothes generates the connotation of wearing representing the hierarchy, which is generalised to the domain of SOCIAL CLASS and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Low-ranking Status in Hierarchy. It is extended to another domain of MORAL EVIL and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Adulterous Wife. The metonymy of wine has one connotation of association with feasting, which is generalised to MORAL EVIL and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Extravagant Life. The metonymy of painting has the connotation of luxury, which is generalised to the domain of QUANTITY. It develops into the metaphorical meaning of Luxury and Rhetoric. The metonymy of skin has one connotation. The connotation of complexion showing emotions is generalised to the domain of EMOTION and develops into the metaphorical meanings of Anger. The metonymic bases of lights have one connotation of permission to proceed. The connotation is generalised into AUTHORITY and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Permission.

4.4 Comparison of *green* and *qing/lv*

Table 4.5 shows the comparison of metaphorical meanings. The first column presents the target domains of colour metaphors. The second column contains the source domain of colour metaphors (English and Chinese colour terms). The third column shows the specific metaphorical meanings. The fourth column shows the motivations for the metaphorical meanings.

Table 4.5 Comparison of metaphorical meanings between *green* and *qing/lv*

Target domain	Source domain	Metaphorical meaning	Motivation
1B03 AGE	<i>green, qing</i>	Youth	metonymic bases of plants
1C01 HEALTH	<i>green, (qing)</i>	Ill Health	metonymic basis of skin
1G01 FOOD AND EATING	<i>green, lv</i>	Safety, Non-pollution and High Quality	metonymic basis of ecology
1L07 DIRECTION	<i>qing</i>	East	metonymic bases of plants
1M02 DURATION IN TIME	<i>green, qing</i>	Vitality	metonymic bases of plants
1M04 SEASON	<i>qing</i>	Spring	metonymic bases of plants
1M07 MEASUREMENT OF TIME AND RELATIVE TIME	<i>green</i>	Newness	metonymic bases of plants
1O03 PREPARATION AND UNDERTAKING	<i>green, qing</i>	Immaturity	metonymic bases of plants
1O03 PREPARATION AND UNDERTAKING	<i>green</i>	Rawness	metonymic bases of plants
1O07 COMPLETION	<i>qing</i>	Completion	metonymic bases of bamboo slips
1O20 MANNER OF ACTION	<i>green</i>	Vitality	metonymic bases of plants
1O23 ABILITY	<i>green, qing</i>	Inexperience	metonymic bases of plants
1P26 QUANTITY	<i>qing, lv</i>	Luxury and Rhetoric	metonymic basis of painting
2D01 EMOTION	<i>green</i>	Jealousy	literature
	<i>green, (qing), (lv)</i>	Fear	metonymic basis of skin
	<i>qing, lv</i>	Anger	metonymic basis of skin
2A13 LACK OF UNDERSTANDING	<i>green</i>	Naivety	metonymic bases of plants
2A13 LACK OF UNDERSTANDING	<i>green</i>	Simpleton	metonymic bases of plants
2C02 BAD	<i>qing, (lv)</i>	Eeriness	metonymic basis of skin
3A06 SOCIAL COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE	<i>green, lv</i>	Environmentalism	metonymic basis of ecology
3A09 SOCIAL CLASS	<i>qing</i>	High-ranking Status in Hierarchy	cultural traditions
	<i>qing, lv</i>	Low-ranking Status in Hierarchy	cultural traditions
3D03 POLITICS	<i>green</i>	Environmental Political Parties	metonymic basis of ecology
3D05 AUTHORITY, REBELLION AND FREEDOM	<i>green, lv</i>	Permission	metonymic bases of traffic lights

3F01 MORALITY AND IMMORALITY	<i>qing</i>	Brothel	metonymic basis of painting
3F05 MORAL EVIL	<i>lv</i>	Extravagant Life	metonymic basis of wine
3F07 LICENTIOUSNESS	<i>lv</i>	Adulterous Wife	cultural traditions
3M06 LITERATURE	<i>qing</i>	History	metonymic bases of bamboo slips

As Table 4.5 shows, the shared metaphorical meanings are Youth in AGE, Safety, Non-pollution and High Quality in FOOD AND EATING, Vitality in DURATION, Immaturity in PREPARATION AND UNDERTAKING, Inexperience in PREPARATION AND UNDERTAKING, Environmentalism in SOCIAL COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE, and Permission in AUTHORITY, REBELLION AND FREEDOM. In addition, *green*'s metaphorical meaning of Fear and *qing/lv*'s metaphorical meaning of Anger can be regarded as a similar metaphorical meaning of Emotions because they are both in the domain of EMOTION and motivated by the metonymic basis of skin. By comparing their development (see Figure 4.1, 4.7 and 4.8), the reasons for the similarities are clear:

- a. *Green* – *qing/lv* has the same metaphorical meaning of Youth motivated by the same metonymic bases of plants. *Green* and *qing* have the same connotation of youth of plants due to the same experience of the colour green characterising the youth condition of plants including tender, retaining moisture etc. in both English and Chinese communities. *Green* directly develops the metaphorical meaning of Youth from the connotation. Differently, *qing* is firstly associated with spring in which plants start growing and then *qingchun* is used to refer to the youth of human beings. *Qing* is also used directly to refer to Youth. The generalisation from the connotation to the AGE domain is motivated by the similar conceptualisation which can be assumed as LIFE STAGE OF PLANTS IS LIFE STAGE OF HUMAN BEINGS. It works at a superordinate level and appears to be a non-culturally specific pattern. The potentially universal pattern in the generation process indicates the universal element of human experiences based on basic cognitive abilities. This explains why the unrelated languages English and Chinese both use GREEN to describe the youth of human beings. However, the instantiations of *green* and *qing/lv* could be different, which are due to different cultural contexts. The connotation of youth of *green* is generalised to the domain of YOUTH, while the generalisation of *qing* has two ways. One is similar to *green*, the other is that *qing* is firstly used to describe the spring and then mapped onto the age domain of YOUTH. The differences in instantiations also show the advantage of the diachronic corpus-based method.

- b. The similarity of Vitality is also motivated by the shared metonymic bases of plants, which have the connotation of vigour. *Green* and *qing* have the same connotation due to the same experience of the colour green characterising the flourishing and liveliness of plants. The generalisation from the connotation to the AGE domain is motivated by the similar generic conceptualisation which can be assumed as ATTRIBUTE OF PLANTS IS ATTRIBUTE OF OTHERS. There are also cultural variations in the generalisation process. The connotation of *green* is generalised into two target domains (DURATION IN TIME and MANNER OF ACTION). Rather, the connotation of *qing* is only generalised into the domain of DURATION IN TIME.
- c. The similarity of Immaturity is motivated by the same metonymic bases of plants. *Green* and *qing* have the same connotation of immaturity because the shared experience of colour green characterising the unripeness and inedibility of plants (especially fruits). Then the same connotation is generalised to the same metaphorical meaning of Immaturity in PREPARATION AND UNDERTAKING, which is then mapped onto the domain of ABILITY and develops into another same metaphorical meaning of Inexperience. This generalisation is motivated by the generic conceptualisation of ATTRIBUTE OF PLANTS IS ATTRIBUTE OF OTHERS. In the generalisation of *green*, it refers to immature ideas, plans, and the capacities (like wit) of humans. In the generalisation of *qing*, it is first used to refer to the immature (young and virgin) prostitute. Later, it refers to immature achievements, undeveloped skills, and the inexperience and naivety of youth. Thus, there are cultural variations in their metaphorical use.
- d. The similarity of Emotions is because of the shared metonymic bases of skin (complexion). The same connotation of the association with complexion and emotions is due to shared human experience. The generation from the connotation to the target domain EMOTION is motivated by the generic conceptualisation COMPLEXION REPRESENTS EMOTION. The cultural variations are reflected in the differences of the specific emotions *green* and *qing/lv* refer to. Motivated by the same metonymic basis of skin (greenish-pale complexion), *green* refers to Fear while *qing/lv* refers to Anger (*qing/lv* has the connotation of fear). Apart from the physiological factor, it is assumed that *qing* and *lv* referring to anger have cultural factors, though the physical association between emotions and complexion also plays a role. In ancient Chinese medical doctrine, the liver belongs to Wood, which is marked by *qing/lv*. The liver is associated with anger. Patients who have liver

sickness easily become angry. Thus, *qing* and *lv* refer to anger. In addition, *green* refers to Jealousy is due to cultural factors, so it is culturally specific. *Qing* is used to refer to Fear and Anger, and *lv* is used to refer to Anger. *Green*'s metaphorical meaning of Jealousy is due to cultural factors, so it is culturally specific.

- e. The similarities of Environmentalism, Safety, Non-pollution and High Quality, and Permission are because of language interaction. Language interaction makes *green* and *lv* have the same connotation of the shared metonymic bases of ecology and traffic lights.

The metaphorical meanings that are only held by *qing/lv* are East, Spring, High-ranking Status in Hierarchy, Low-ranking Status in Hierarchy, History, Completion, Luxury and Rhetoric, Brothel, Adulterous Wife, Eeriness and Extravagant Life. The metaphorical meanings that are only held by *green* are Rawness, Newness, Naivety, Simpleton and Environmentalist Political Parties. It is shown that the metonymic bases of clothes, paintings and bamboo slips generate culturally specific connotations of *qing* and *lv* that develop into metaphorical meanings. In addition, cultural factors of the Wuxing and the clothing regulations also give rise to the culturally specific metaphorical meanings of *qing* and *lv*. *Green* has some intrinsic connotations of plants that *qing* and *lv* do not have, which shows the special cultural experience on the metonymic bases of plants.

In summary, the similarities of *green* and *qing/lv* are caused through several steps in the development of metaphorical meanings: (1) the same metonymic bases, (2) the same connotations motivated by the same metonymic bases due to the same human experience, and (3) the generalisation from connotations to the same target domains due to the same generic conceptualisation. In addition, language interaction could give rise to the same metonymic bases generating the same connotations, which develop into the same metaphorical meanings. The differences are caused by different metonymic bases, culturally specific connotations and different generalisation due to cultural factors.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter investigates and compares English colour term *green* and Chinese colour terms *qing* and *lv*, which have the same etymological metonymy of plants. It shows that the metonymic bases of plants are the main motivation for both *green* and *qing/lv* to develop metaphorical meanings. That is, most metaphorical meanings of *green* and *qing/lv* are

motivated by the metonymic bases of plants. Their metaphorical conceptualisation of this kind can be summarised as the attributes of the plants characterised by the colour green being mapped onto the attributes of other things. For example, the attribute of youth characterised by the colour green of plants is mapped onto the attribute of youth of human beings. Thus, *green* is metaphorically used to describe the young age of humans.

The comparison results show the similarities of *green* and *qing/lv* are motivated by the same metonymic bases of plants and the differences are motivated by different metonymic bases and different cultural connotations. This preliminarily suggests that metonymic bases do play an important role in motivating the similarities and differences.

Chapter 5 *Orange* and *cheng(se)/juse*, *rose/rosy* and *meiguise*

The previous chapter discusses *green* and *lv/qing* that share the same etymological metonymy of green plants (especially leaves and grass etc.). This chapter likewise concerns colour terms that have the same etymological metonymy of plants. Both referring to the ORANGE category, *orange* and its Chinese counterpart *cheng(se)/juse* share the same etymological metonymy of the citrus fruit orange. For the ORANGE category, English uses *orange* as the basic colour term and also *mandarin* and *tangerine* as relatively rare colour terms. Chinese uses *cheng(se)* and *juse* as the colour term but they are not distinctive, because they have etymological metonymy of citrus fruits that have similar appearances (orange and mandarin). Thus, this study investigates English *orange* and for Chinese *cheng(se)* and *juse* are discussed together as the counterparts of *orange*. *Rose/rosy* and *meiguise* referring to the rosy hues are investigated because they share the same plant etymological metonymy of the rose flower in both English and Chinese. *Green – lv/qing*, *orange – chengse/juse*, *rose/rosy – meiguise* all have the same etymological metonymies relating to plants, but focus on foliage, fruit and flower respectively.

In this chapter, *orange*, *cheng(se)* together with *juse*, *rose/rosy* and *meiguise* are discussed in 5.1, 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 respectively. 5.5 presents the comparison of *orange – chengse/juse* and *rose/rosy – meiguise*.

5.1 *Orange*

5.1.1 presents the etymological metonymy and cultural connotations of *orange*. 5.1.2, 5.1.3 and 5.1.4 each begin with a summary of the meanings of *orange* shown in OED, HTE and MM, which are examined and supplemented by corpus data. 5.1.5 summarises the metaphorical meanings and the metaphorical development of *orange*.

5.1.1 Etymological metonymy and cultural connotations

According to the OED (orange, NOUN¹ & ADJECTIVE¹), the word *orange* is a borrowing from French. *Orange* originally refers to the citrus fruit orange in ME. OED indicates the bitter orange was brought from Arabia to Europe in the Middle Ages, and the sweet orange was brought from China in the 16th century (OED, Etymology). The colour term *orange*, referring to the bright reddish-yellow colour of the skin of a ripe orange, gains its name directly from the etymological metonymy of the fruit orange.

Orange has another homonymous meaning of a title held by the House of Nassau, which is shown in OED (*Orange*, NOUN² & ADJECTIVE²). For *orange* in this sense, HTE and MM classify it under the semantic categories of SOCIAL CLASS, SECT and POLITICS. However, this meaning of *orange* is etymologically unrelated to the colour term. Orange is the name of a town in Provence in southern France, which was once the capital of the medieval principality of the same name. The House of Nassau conquered the principality of Orange in 1544, which established a dynasty of governors in the Netherlands, and the title of Orange was retained after the principality was returned to France in 1713 (*Orange*, NOUN² & ADJECTIVE², NOUN). Thus, Orange is a title of the House of Nassau, and hence a royal line of the Netherlands, and a member of the Dutch royal dynasty. In British history, William III, widely known as ‘William of Orange’ was the sovereign Prince of Orange, and became the King of England, Ireland, and Scotland from 1689 until his death in 1702. Arising from the title of William of Orange, *orange* designates the Orange Order, Orangeman in Irish politics in LModE because Irish Protestants commemorated William of Orange for defeating the Catholic former King James II at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. This political connotation of *orange* was brought to North America by Irish immigrants in the 19th century and thus it designated Protestantism generally, which is often used derogatorily. Although the title of Orange has no relationship with the colour term in origin, the coincidence of the title of Orange and the colour orange made the colour the symbol of William III, the protestant settlement of William in 1689, Orange lodges and Orangemen, which is reflected by wearing of orange ribbons, scarfs etc. (OED, *Orange* NOUN¹ & ADJECTIVE¹, Etymology).

OED does not show *orange* to have a metaphorical meaning from the colour, and the corpora do not show any metaphorical meanings of *orange* either. Therefore, *orange* only has one cultural connotation of politics, which is etymologically unrelated to the colour term but is associated with the colour because of the coincidence of the title name and the colour name.

5.1.2 Middle English

In this period, OED and the corpora show that *orange* is used in its literal meaning, referring to the citrus fruit orange. For example:

(190) Citrangulum pomum, **orenge**. (OED; a1400)

- (191) Moreover, y late wrote you a letter and send him by oon John Symon, which gave you the **orenges** and marmelate at Exeter [...] (PCEEC; 1449?; letter: stonor; recipient: william_stonor)

5.1.3 Early Modern English

According to OED, *orange* is continuously used in its literal meaning of the fruit orange and starts to refer to the colour:

- (192) Coloured cloth of any other colour or colours..hereafter mentioned, that is to say, scarlet, red, crimson, morrey, violet, pewke, brown, blue, black, green, yellow, blue, **orange**, [etc.]. (OED; 1557)

OED indicates that Orange is used as a title by the House of Nassau, and thus it designates the Orange family or dynasty in the Netherlands in this period. The corpora show examples of this sense:

- (193) [...] that the prince of **Orenge** was taken [...] (Helsinki; 1570–1640; An Elizabethan in 1582: The Diary of Richard Madox, Fellow of All Souls; Madox, Richard)

5.1.4 Late Modern English

In this period, the Orange Order, originally known as Orange Society, is a political society that promotes Protestant and Loyalist principles. It was probably named because the members wore orange badges as a symbol of William of Orange, which shows the association between the colour and the political meaning. A member of the Orange Order is called an Orangeman. BNC provides examples as follows:

- (194) A spokesman for the Lower Ormeau Concerned Community rubbished Mr Smyth's comments as 'a pathetic attempt to justify the offensive and sectarian parades of the **Orange Order** and Black Preceptory'. (BNC; 1985–1993; Belfast Telegraph: Foreign news pages)
- (195) Three counties of the Province of Ulster belong to the Irish Republic — Cavan, Monaghan and Donegal, where I now was. So these three counties are in Limbo. They had more Catholics than Protestants, and so voted for the Republic when Ireland was partitioned. All the same, there are **Orange Lodges** in Donegal, which you wouldn't see in County Cork. (BNC; 1985–1993; Jaunting through Ireland)
- (196) Those standing, however, on the day of the Fete of the Peace, we understand, were decorated with **orange** ribbons! (BNC; 1802; Anonymous News Johnson's British Gazette and Sunday Monitor)

(194) is an example of *Orange Order*. (195) contains a phrase *Orange Lodge* that refers to a club or a branch of the *Orange Order*. (196) shows that the colour orange is a symbolic colour of Protestantism

OED indicates that *orange* has an extended use of generally referring to Protestantism, usually in a derogatory sense. For instance:

(197) In 1867, when Ontario was still stridently **Orange**, the matter was not even academic. (OED; 1982)

(198) A Scots guy from Greenford says:—C'moan mate, sort out this **orange** bastard. (OED; 1994)

(199) The DUP says that Republican violence paid off in the disarming of the RUC, the disbanding of the B Specials, the banning of **Orange**, Black and Apprentice Boys' parades resulting in the imprisonment of Loyalists, [...] (BNC; 1990; God save Ulster! The religion and politics of Paisleyism; Bruce, S.)

It is unclear to what extent the colour orange is interpreted as the literal meaning that the extended use develops from. That is, for example (199), the extended meaning of Protestantism is interpreted after the literal meaning of the colour orange is rejected, or the speaker knows the orange originates from William of Orange, so the colour orange is unrelated to the extended use. This research tends to favour the view that this extended meaning of Protestantism is unrelated to the colour orange, although the colour orange becomes a symbol of *Orange Order* due to the same name. One reason is that in most cases *Orange* is capitalised when it is used to refer to Protestantism.

5.1.5 Summary

In conclusion, *orange* does not develop metaphorical meanings as a colour term. It may have the potential to develop a political connotation related to Protestantism because the orange colour becomes the symbolic colour of political affairs related to William of Orange due to the coincidence of the title name Orange of the royal line of the Netherlands and the colour term *orange*.

5.2 *Cheng(se)/juse* 橙(色)/橘色

5.2.1 discusses the etymological metonymy and cultural connotations of *cheng(se)* and *juse*, and 5.2.2 and 5.2.3 present the meanings of *cheng(se)/juse* in EModC and LModC.

5.2.4 summarises the metaphorical meanings and the metaphorical development of *cheng(se)/juse*.

5.2.1 Etymological metonymy and cultural connotations

Although the orange hue is distinguished by some contextually restricted lexemes (駢 *xīng* and 緹 *tí*) in OC (Bogushevskaya 2017: 257), *chengse* (lit. orange fruit + semi-suffix *se* ‘colour’) and *juse* (lit. mandarin fruit + semi-suffix *se* ‘colour’) did not become an abstract colour concept referring to the orange hue until LModC (Bogushevskaya 2017: 260; Yao 1988: 26). Some scholars argue that *cheng* is a monosyllabic term for ORANGE. For example, Yao (1988: 25, 26) proposes that *cheng* becomes an abstract colour term for ORANGE in LModC, which is one of the ten basic colour terms. However, Bogushevskaya (2017: 257, 260) argues that *chengse* or *juse* do not possess the entire criteria for basicness, and thus there is no monomorphemic monosyllabic colour term for ORANGE in Modern Standard Mandarin. Some scholars prefer to regard the orange hue to be included in the category YELLOW. Li (2007: 140) classifies *chengse* and *juse* under YELLOW.

Although *chengse* and *juse* do not fulfil all the criteria for a basic colour term, these are the two candidate colour terms for ORANGE if it is regarded as an individual colour category. As Bogushevskaya (2017: 264) claims, *chengse* or *juse* can be defined as starting to become a BCT. Bogushevskaya argues when referring to the orange hue, *chengse* and *juse* have the semi-suffix *se* ‘colour’. In addition, *cheng* and *ju* are both included in YELLOW (Li 2007: 140 – 141). Thus, Bogushevskaya claims that the orange colour is still inseparable from the fruit and has not become abstract (2017: 264). Considering the controversial views of whether *cheng* must be used with *se* ‘colour’, this study investigated both cases, which is expressed by *cheng(se)*. *Juse* is also the colour term for ORANGE and it must be used with the semi-suffix *se* ‘colour’, so it is investigated as *juse*. *Cheng(se)* and *juse* that refer to the orange hue and develop from the citrus fruits orange and mandarin are studied as the Chinese counterparts of *orange*.

In general, *chengse* and *juse* are undistinguished because the colours of their metonymies are alike. The fruit *cheng* is a hybrid of *ju* and pomelo. This is reflected in the language as *ju* is the generic name for all citrus fruits and the term *cheng* is described via the term *ju* in *Shuowen*. In English, the colour usage of *orange* develops early and is used as the colour term for ORANGE, while *mandarin* and *tangerine* are not used as colour terms until the late 19th century according to OED. Thus, *mandarin* and *tangerine* have no opportunity to be

used as the basic colour term for ORANGE since *orange* is already there. Differently, although *cheng(se)* is used earlier than *juse*, they are both frequently used together as colour terms only after LModC. Regarding the preference of using *chengse* or *juse* to refer to orange hue, Bogushevskaya (2017: 262) proposes that ‘the preference of the mandarin-object-like-colour term is preferred over the orange-object-like colour term is conditioned by the cultural tradition, mnemonic imposed, and the education level of a speaker.’

According to *Dacidian*, *chengse* is a colour that combines *hong* ‘red’ and *huang* ‘yellow’, which is used in LModC but *Dacidian* does not show that *juse* is a colour that is similar to *chengse*. Before *chengse* and *juse* are used, *cheng* is used with *huang* ‘yellow’ as compounds in the Tang dynasty (MC), and *juhuang* is used in the Ming dynasty (EModC). Also, *cheng* and *ju* with *hong* ‘red’ as compounds are used in modern Chinese. *Chenghuang* is a yellow colour with a bit of red like the colour of an orange, and *chenghong* is a red colour with a bit of yellow like the colour of an orange. Similarly, *juhuang* is a colour slightly darker than yellow, orange peel-like colour, and *juhong* is a yellow colour with a bit of red as the colour of a tangerine. Thus, *chenghuang* and *juhuang* are regarded as colours that belong to YELLOW firstly in MC and EModC. Then, *chenghong* and *juhong* are regarded as colours that belong to RED and *chengse* refers to the orange hue in LModC. Since the compounds are within RED and YELLOW and they violate the criterion of the basic colour term ‘II. Its signification is not included in that of any other color term...’ (see Chapter 2), the compounds are not investigated in the present research. *Cheng(se)* and *juse* have no connotations or metaphorical meanings according to *Dacidian*.

5.2.2 Early Modern Chinese

Although *cheng* (without *se* which is a suffix for colour) is not used as a colour in this period, it shows the tendency to develop into a colour term. For example:

- (200) 低头观看，白润润粉颈，**黄橙橙**赤金兑肚链（清；三侠剑）
Huangchengcheng (lit. ‘yellow orange orange’) and red golden belly chain (Qing Dynasty; *Sanxiajian*)

(200) illustrates the expression *huangchengcheng* (lit. ‘yellow orange orange’) referring to the colour orange or golden, which is used to describe a belly chain. It shows *cheng*’s development from referring to the fruit to referring to its colour.

5.2.3 Late Modern Chinese

In LModC, *chengse* and *juse* are fully developed colour terms with the suffix *se*, and their usages have no semantic difference. For example:

- (201) [...] 一面**橙色**镜递与乌木田 [...] (民国; 上古秘史)
 [...] A **chengse** mirror is handed to Wumutian (Republic of China;
Shanggumishi)
- (202) [...] **橙色**能使人增进食欲, 餐厅的墙刷成**橙色**会令人胃口大开 [...] (当代; 养生与健美方法 100 例)
 [...] **Chengse** is an appetite enhancer and painting the walls of a dining room orange will whet your appetite [...] (Contemporary;
Yangshengyujianmeifangfa 100 cases)
- (203) 米色的地毯, **橘色**的沙发和窗帘, 显然都是房东原来的东西。(当代; 雁儿在林梢; 琼瑶)
 The beige carpet, the **juse** sofa and the curtains are obviously all original to the landlord. (Contemporary; *Yanertzailinshao*; Qiongyao)

Compared to *juse*, *cheng* (without the suffix *se*) is sometimes used as a colour term, especially as part of a list of colours. For example:

- (204) 赤**橙**黄绿青蓝紫, 边城七彩波涛竞相追逐。(1995; 报刊 人民日报)
 Red, **cheng**, yellow, green, blue and purple, the seven coloured waves of the border town compete. (1995; Newspaper *Renminribao*)
- (205) **橙斑翅柳莺** (2010s; 中文维基)
Cheng-spotted Willow Warbler (2010s; Chinese Wiki)
- (206) 图为美国波士顿**橙线**地铁车在长春下线。(2017; 报刊 人民日报)
 The picture shows the **Chengxian** (Orange Line) underground car in Boston, USA, coming off the line in Changchun. (2017; Newspaper *Renminribao*)

In (204), *cheng* is one of the seven colours which are often used together to represent all the colours. In (205) and (206), *cheng* is used to describe the nouns (spots and subway line).

5.2.4 Summary

CCL corpus shows that *cheng(se)* and *juse* are not used as colour terms until LModC and there is no metaphorical meaning found in the corpus.

5.3 Comparison of *orange* and *cheng(se)/juse*

Neither English *orange* nor Chinese *cheng(se)/juse* shows metaphorical meanings in the periods covered by the corpora. *Orange* shows potential for developing metaphorical meanings of Social Class and Politics, just as *purple* does (which is shown in section 6.1). However, this metaphorical development might be obstructed because the metonymy of Social Class and Politics is not the colour orange but the French place name. Although later *orange* is sometimes used as a symbolic colour, the colour orange is not widely used by the royal class. *Cheng(se)* and *juse* do not develop metaphorical meanings. This might be because 1) the colour terms do not appear until LModC which means that there is a relatively short time for them to develop figurative meaning, or 2) the metonymy of the citrus fruit does not have cultural connotations.

Comparing *orange* – *cheng(se)/juse* with *purple* – *zi* and *gold(en)* – *jin(se)* gives some clues as to why *orange* and *cheng(se)* have no metaphorical meanings in either English or Chinese. Firstly, it is probably because the etymological metonymies of *orange* and *cheng(se)/juse* lack cultural implications in English and Chinese. If *orange* and *cheng(se)/juse* have cultural connotations like *purple*, they may develop some metaphorical meanings. In fact, *Orange Order* shows this potential. Secondly, the etymological metonymy of *orange* and *cheng(se)/juse* is so salient, which means that the colour terms are closely tied with their etymological metonymy and thus are unlikely to have other metonyms. Having similar hues, *orange* and *cheng(se)/juse* have only one metonymic basis of the fruit orange, but *gold(en)* and *jin(se)* have not only their etymological metonymic basis of gold but also a metonymic basis of sunshine which gives rise to metaphorical meanings of the colour terms. It is possible that *gold(en)* and *jin(se)* take up the metonymic bases that *gold(en)* and *orange* can take up. In fact, *orange* and *cheng(se)/juse* could have been used to describe sunshine and then develop the implications of happiness, well-being or prosperity, but *gold(en)* and *jin(se)* block this metaphorical development. It is undeniable that *gold(en)* and *jin(se)* are closer to sunshine compared to *orange* because both gold and sunshine are glittery. The key problem is that *orange* has fewer metonymic bases with connotations compared to *gold(en)* because of its physical properties or cultural factors.

5.4 Rose/rosy

5.4.1 presents the etymological metonymy and cultural connotations of *rose/rosy*. 5.4.2, 5.4.3 and 5.4.4 each begin with a summary of the meanings of *orange* shown in OED, HTE and MM, which are examined and supplemented by corpus data. 5.4.5 summarises the metaphorical meanings and the metaphorical development of *rose/rosy*.

5.4.1 Etymological metonymy and cultural connotations

According to OED, *rose* etymologically refers to a kind of flower of the genus *Rosa*, from OE, which is partly a borrowing from Latin, partly a borrowing from French. In ME, *rose* is used for a delicate red, pink or light crimson colour in ME (*rose*, NOUN¹ & ADJECTIVE¹ IV. 13.). In the same period, *rosy* is derived from *rose* with the -y suffix to indicate the colour of a light crimson or pink rose or rose-red (*rosy*, ADJECTIVE & NOUN).

Among the ancient Greeks and Romans, the rose flower is the symbol of love, devotion, passion, union, and aesthetics because of its beauty, fragrance and medicinal value. In Greek mythology, rose is associated with Aphrodite who is the goddess of love and beauty. She anoints the body of Hector with rose perfume (Shinwari and Shinwari 2003: 7). During the Roman era, roses were used for ceremonial purposes on people, floors, couches, cups of wine. Rose petals are used in newly-weds' bedding, which symbolise passion. By the spread of myths, the significance of passion, sacrifice, union, and springtime of roses were widely accepted. In Christianity, the flower is associated with the Virgin Mary because of the roses and lilies found in Mary's tomb and the Marian apparition (Almeida, Alberto, and Oliveira 2024: 198–199). It is assumed that English term *rose* inherited the significances of love, devotion, passion etc., as a borrowing partly from Latin and partly from French.

Pu and Kong (2009) also illustrates the association of roses with beauty and love tracing back to ancient Greek myth. The rose flower represents Venus (Roman counterpart of Aphrodite). Adonis, who is Venus's first son, was severely wounded by a wild bear. Venus ran to save Adonis and forgot to wear her shoes. On the way she stepped on a rose and was pricked in the foot, causing her to bleed. Her blood turned the white roses into bright red. Pu and Kong also propose that roses are the symbol of love and sex because roses are the symbol of female genitalia. The shape and colour of roses, especially red roses, are reminiscent of female genitalia and sex experience (2009: 100). The medieval *Roman de la rose* takes this as a central theme, where a knight is trying to besiege a rose, protected by a

wall, alluding to female sexuality. This symbolic meaning derives from the rose flower, which is unrelated to the colour term *rose/rosy*, so it is not discussed.

The rose flower is always favoured by many people, as Bill Swain notes in his book *Roses: Questions and Answers* (1990):

If you were cast away on a desert island, which eight plants would you wish to have with you?' there is no doubt that the rose would be the first choice for most people. That should not be surprising, because when asked to name one favourite flower, beautiful above all others, again there can be little doubt that most people — in Britain at any rate, and whether gardeners or not — would choose the rose. (1990: 11)

It is not surprising that the rose flower is often used figuratively because of its noted beauty, fragrance, purity or rich colour according to OED. In addition, *rose* metaphorically refers to a peerless or matchless person, especially a woman of great beauty or virtue. This metaphorical use correlates to the metaphorical sense of flowers which is 'the choicest individual or individuals among a number of persons or things' (flower, NOUN 7). Thus, the metaphorical meaning of the paragon belongs to the flower rather than the colour term. The positive connotations of the rose flower give rise to some metaphorical expressions of plural roses expressing favourable circumstances, such as *roses, (roses,) all the way, not all roses, everything's roses, to come up roses*, as OED shows.

According to OED, *rose* as a colour term is used to refer to a ruddy hue of the complexion in the cheeks, which is a sign of good health or vitality (IV.14.). *Rosy* also designates the reddish colour of the face, the lips of a person as indicative of a good health (ADJECTIVE 1.b.). In addition, *rosy* is regarded as a result of blushing or embarrassment because the blushing complexion often accompanies the emotion. *Rosy* (also the phrases *rose-coloured* and *rose-tinted*) has a figurative use of describing an enjoyable and bright event or circumstance that brings happiness, promising good fortune or happiness, or an over-optimistic expectation (ADJECTIVE 4.a.). Furthermore, *rosy* metaphorically refers to an optimistic and cheerful temperament (ADJECTIVE 4.b.).

It is shown that the rose flower and the colour *rose/rosy* both have a positive figurative sense. The former refers to the favourable circumstance, and the latter describes bright, enjoyable and hopeful things or circumstances. Compared to the figurative sense of the favourable circumstance that belongs to the flower rather than the colour term since it is related to the figurative sense of the flower, the positive sense of referring to a bright,

enjoyable and hopeful circumstance probably belongs to the colour term because the positive connotation of the rose flower is partly characterised by the rich colour of the flower or because the positive connotation could derive from the colour of the complexion. In addition, *rose/rosy* has the metaphorical sense of good health because of the reddish colour of the skin, which shows that the metaphorical sense belongs to the colour term.

5.4.2 *Rose/rosy* in Middle English

In this period, OED shows that *rose/rosy* has a connotation of good health, which is shown in 5.4.2.1.

5.4.2.1 (good Health)

OED shows that *rose* and *rosy* refer to a delicate red, pink, or light crimson colour. *Rosy* designates the colour of the face, lips etc., indicating good health, so HT shows *rosy* under the category of Health. For example:

(207) Sche wexe ded and pale; And efte anoon..Hir hewe chaungeth in-to a
goodly red..And þouȝ þe **rose** stoundemele gan pase, Ȝit þe lillie abideth
in his place. (OED; c1425)

(208) My **rosy** lyppes see how they perced be (EEBO V2; 1480; Curia
sapientiae; Lydgate, John)

In (207) and (208), *rose/rosy* refers to a fresh pink or ruby hue of the complexion or the lips, which is regarded as a sign of good health or vitality, but it is still used in its literal meaning. Thus, the metaphorical meaning of Health is not fully developed.

5.4.3 *Rose/rosy* in Early Modern English

The connotation of good health is continuously shown in OED as in the previous period, so it is not discussed. OED shows that *rose/rosy* has two emerging metaphorical meaning of Shyness/humility and Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness, which are shown in 5.4.3.2 and 5.4.3.3. The Helsinki corpus shows that *rosy* has a new connotation of beauty, which is presented in 5.4.3.1.

5.4.3.1 (beauty)

Corpora show that *rose/rosy* has the connotation of beauty in this period. For example:

- (209) As for thy lip of ruby, cheek of **rose**, Though I have kissed them oft with sweet content, I am content that sweet content to lose, If they sweet Will will not bar me, I assent. (EEBO V3; 1611; A poetical rapsodie; Davison, Francis)
- (210) [...] vents from her troubled breast Volleys of sighs (h symptoms of unrest) And from her **rose** cheek a dew let glide Of pearly tears (like those in summer tide Falling on the ripe Cherries which the sun After exhales from lying thereupon,) [...] (EEBO V3; 1626; Ovidij Metamorphosis; Ovid)
- (211) Light among others, hath two special properties, namely claritie and beauty, the one following the other, light is of a clear bright splendent nature, and by reason hereof, it is of a very beautiful and lovely aspect, yea it is the great ornament of the world, putting a beauty on all things else, since without it, the redness of the **rose**, the whiteness of the lily, all natural and artificial beauty were as good be not existing, because not appearing. (EEBO V3; 1656; The first general epistle of St. John the Apostle; Hardy, Nathaniel)
- (212) He was briȝt so þe glas. / He was whit so þe flur, / **Rose red** was his colur.
(*Helsinki; the Assumption of Our Lady; King Horn, Floriz, and Blauncheflur*)

(209) and (210) show that the description of rose colour on cheeks expresses the beauty of a woman. (211) shows that the redness of the rose is regarded as a natural beauty. *Rose red* in (212) figuratively describes the beauty of the man. Thus, rose colour has the connotation of beauty. The colour rose/rosy on the cheeks is beautiful because it is compared to the beautiful colour of the rose flower, which is reflected in (211), so the connotation of beauty probably derives from both the metonymic basis of the rose flower and the metonymic basis of the complexion.

5.4.3.2 Shyness/humility

Rosy is associated with emotions of shyness or humility because a reddish complexion appears when the emotions arise. For example:

- (213) Content quoth Ganimede, and changed as red as a **rose**: and so with a smile and a blush, they made up this jesting match, that after proved to a marriage in earnest; Rosader full little thinking he had wooed and won his Rosalynde. (EEBO V3; 1599; Rosalynde; Lodge, Thomas)
- (214) The gamesome wind among her tresses plays, And curls up, those growing riches, short; Her sparefull eye to spread his beams denaies, But keeps his shot, where Cupid keeps his fort; The **rose** and lily on her cheek, assays To paint true fairness out, in bravest sort, Her lips, where

bloomes nought but the single rose, Still blush, for still they kiss, while
still they close. (EEBO V3; 1600; Godfrey of Bulloigne; Tasso, Torquato)

(215) Thou know'st my **Rosy** modesty cannot do it. (OED; 1615)

In (213) and (214), although the rose refers to the flower rather than the colour, they express the colour of the cheeks is alike the colour of the rose when describing the emotion of shyness. This means that *rose/rosy* has the connotation of shyness. (215) shows *rosy* is metaphorically used to describe modesty, which is probably because a blushing complexion is caused by modesty or shame. OED (modesty i.3.c., i.3.d.) shows that modesty refers to shame and deferential feeling or impulse. It is possibly because the reserve or reticence of modesty is related to shame or embarrassment that one blushes through resulting in rosy cheeks.

5.4.3.3 Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness

OED indicates that *rosy/rosy* has the metaphorical meaning of Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness in this period:

(216) In the **rosie** time o' th' Year, when the Grass was down. (OED; 1685)

In (216), *rosie* is used to describe the happy time of the year, which shows the metaphorical sense of *rose/rosy*.

5.4.4 Rose/rosy in Late Modern English

The connotations of good health and beauty develop into metaphorical meanings in this period, which are discussed in 5.4.4.1, 5.4.4.2. The connotation of shyness/humility develops, which is discussed in 5.4.4.3. The corpora provide examples of the metaphorical meaning of Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness, which is shown in 5.4.4.4. OED shows that *rose/rosy* has an emerging metaphorical meaning of Optimism (of view or temperament), which is presented in 5.4.4.5 with the examples provided by the corpora.

5.4.4.1 Good Health

The connotation of good health develops into metaphorical meaning in this period. For example:

(217) [...] but her face blushed with **rosy** health [...] (CLMET3.1; 1843; Vanity Fair; Thackeray, William M.)

- (218) Pining disease and anguish wing their flight, And **rosy** health renews us to delight. (CLMET3.1; 1753; The lives of the poets of Great Britain and Ireland)
- (219) I had youth and **rosy** health, Was nobly formed, as man might be (CLMET3.1; 1903; Crabbe; Ainger, Alfred)
- (220) [...] and she had forgotten the little pink patches of rouge that gave her cheeks their **rosy** healthy glow. (BNC; 1990; Frankie; Highsmith, Domini)
- (221) Here let me tend her with officious care, Watch each unquiet flutter of the breast, And joy to feel the vital warmth return, To see the cloud forsake her kindling cheek, And hail the **rosy** dawn of rising health. (CLMET3.1; 1726–1749; Irene; Johnson, Samuel)
- (222) Mariette has come right round and is **rosy** again. (ARCHER 2019; 1879; To J. COTTER MORISON. The letters of George Meredith; Meredith, George)

(217), (218), (219) and (220) show that *rosy* is used, metaphorically, as an adjective for health. (220) indicates that the rosy hue, even when it is brought about by rouge, represents good health. In (221), ‘cloud’ and ‘rosy dawn’ are used to metaphorise the healthy condition, in which *rosy dawn* refers to good health. In (222), *rosy* refers to good health without the metonymic basis of skin, which suggests that the metaphorical meaning of Good Health is fully developed.

The rose flower is also used to indicate the freshness in the phrase *fresh as a rose*. The phrases *fresh as a daisy*, *fresh as paint*, *fresh as a rose*, etc. suggest newness, vitality, etc. (OED; fresh, P.1.). This is mapped onto a person to indicate youth. Combining *rose/rosy*’s metaphorical meaning of Good Health, it is used to describe a young and healthy person. For example:

- (223) As we heard said by the father of a five-years-old boy, who stands a head taller than most of his age, and is proportionately robust, **rosy**, and active (CLMET3.1; 1861; Essays on education; Spencer, Herbert)
- (224) yet with sure hope of better: in her young **rosy** Boy, has she not the living emblem of hope! (CLMET3.1; 1837; The French Revolution; Carlyle, Thomas)
- (225) I don’t know which of them, but I daresay it was the little **rosy** girl. (CLMET3.1; 1796–1801; The parent’s assistant, or stories for children; Edgeworth, Maria)

- (226) [...] of a delicate peach shade with hints of **rose** which made him think of a girl's skin. A country girl, he decided, with the bloom of health and youth. (BNC; 1985–1994; My enemy, my love; Byrne, Julia. Richmond, Surrey)

(223), (224) and (225) show that *rosy* is used to describe the youth and good health of a girl or boy. (226) shows that *rose/rosy* skin suggests the health and youth of a person, which is also the reason why *rose/rosy* develops the metaphorical meaning of Good Health.

5.4.4.2 Beauty

The connotation of beauty develops into a metaphorical meaning in this period. For example:

- (227) [...] so that many a man turned as she hurried by him and looked after her **rosy** pretty face. (CLMET3.1; 1843; Vanity Fair; Thackeray, William M.)
- (228) [...] yet so improved in your person and features, and so **rosy**, that was his word, in your face, and so flush-coloured, [...] (CLMET3.1; 1748; Clarissa; Richardson, Samuel)
- (229) Now mortal pangs distort his lovely form, His **rosy** beauties fade, [...] (CLMET3.1; 1753; The lives of the poets of Great Britain and Ireland; Cibber, Theophilus)
- (230) The perverse laws of sexual attraction ensured that this lack of interest only added to the appeal of her generously-made, **rosy** beauty. (BNC; 1985–1994; The prince; Brayfield, Celia)
- (231) [...] and Emma was so fair, and Dolly so **rosy**, and Emma so delicately shaped, and Dolly so plump, [...] (CLMET3.1; 1839; Barnaby Rudge; Dickens, Charles)

(227) and (228) show that the connotation of beauty is associated with the metonymic basis of the face. In (229) and (230), *rosy* is directly used to describe beauty. In (231), *rosy* individually refers to beauty, which shows that the metaphorical meaning is fully developed.

5.4.4.3 (shyness/humility)

Corpora provide examples of *rose/rosy* with the connotation of shyness or humility. For example:

- (232) then blushing like the **rosy** morn, has signed our marriage articles, and I now only wait for that short passport to happiness, [...] (CLMET3.1; 1771; The history of Lady Barton; Griffith, Elizabeth)
- (233) She should try to forget him, but the memory of their afternoon together had the power to make her cheeks **rosy**, and so they stayed while she put on the plainest gown which she could find in the wardrobe which she had left behind, with her personal maid, when she had pretended to go with the Parslows. (BNC; 1985–1994; An American princess; Marshall, Paula. Richmond, Surrey)
- (234) Men, who act a conspicuous part on the stage of life, and who require a certain audacity and self-possession to bring their talents into full light, can not, in my opinion, have too public an education: but women, whose loveliest charm is the **rosy** blush of native modesty, whose virtues blossom fairest in the vale, should never leave their household gods, the best protectors of innocence. (CLMET3.1; 1763; The history of Lady Julia Mandeville; Brooke, Henry)
- (235) Has it been chilled by sorrow and unkindness; still nature will prevail; and if I blush at recollecting past enjoyment, it is the **rosy** hue of pleasure heightened by modesty, for the blush of modesty and shame are as distinct as the emotions by which they are produced. (CLMET3.1; 1796; Letters on Sweden, Norway and Denmark; Wollstonecraft, Mary)
- (236) Her own **rosy** cheeks were so countrified. And now that Mrs Carson's awkward mood had passed, her brown eyes were clear and soft again. (BNC; 1985–1994; Ruth Appleby; Rhodes, Elvi)

In (232) and (233), *rosy* is used in its literal meaning to describe the colour of the cheeks, which rises because of shyness. (234) and (235) shows that rosy blush appears because of the modesty. In (236), the rosy cheeks occur because of the awkward mood. These examples indicate that *rosy* is used to describe cheeks when a person is in the mood of shyness, modesty or awkwardness. However, they are all used in the literal meaning. Thus, *rose/rosy* has the potential of developing a metaphorical meaning of shyness/embarrassment, but it is not fully developed.

5.4.4.4 Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness

Rose/rosy's metaphorical meaning of Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness develops in this period. For example:

- (237) [...] that might have bleached joy's **rosy** cheek for ever, and strowed the snows of age upon youth's auburn ringlets! (CLMET3.1; 1798; The castle spectre; Lewis, Matthew Gregory)

Example (237) shows that joy is associated with rosy cheeks.

- (238) [...] or to make informed assessments of the **rosy** promises being made about the future. (BNC; 1985–1994; Melt down: collapse of a nuclear dream)
- (239) In the end, a new Lycra frock is never going to give you the warm, **rosy** glow of friendship. (BNC; 1985–1994; Clothes Show)
- (240) [...] the combination of a livelier economy and greater commercial drive (leading above all to more commonsense, usually more local management) has produced results far above the most **rosy** forecasts. (BNC; 1990; BR in the eighties; St John Thomas, David and Whitehouse, Patrick)

In (238) and (239), *rosy* is used to describe abstractions of a promise and glow to refer to the goodness. In (240), *rosy* is used to refer to bright forecasts.

- (241) Everything around him had taken on a **rosy** hue and he felt excitement in his guts. (BNC; 1993; The ladykiller; Cole, Martina)
- (242) If you talk once again life won't be so **rosy**. (BNC; 1990; The adventures of Endill Swift; McDonald, Stuart)
- (243) Petrie's recollection of Charles Manning is less **rosy** than Grace's [...] (BNC; 1983; Theatre in my blood: biography of John Cranko; Percival, John)
- (244) Even here, however, the outlook is none too **rosy**, according to the committee. (BNC; New Scientist.; 1985–1994)

From (241) to (244), *rosy* is used metaphorically. Especially in (242), (243) and (244), *rosy* is individually used to express the metaphorical meaning, which shows it is fully developed.

5.4.4.5 Optimism

The metaphorical meaning of Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness is further extended to describe the cheerful optimism of view or temperament, which develops into a new metaphorical meaning. For example:

- (245) If that makes the agent sound unpleasant it is only because you are still seeing the profession through **rose**-coloured spectacles. (BNC; 1985–1994; So you want to be an actor?; Rendle, Adrian)

- (246) At least we are much nearer than we were in the era your **rose**-coloured glasses have alighted upon. (BNC; 1991; The Economist)
- (247) They win their parents over with a **rose**-tinted vision of the world which is decidedly reassuring. (BNC; 1989; Independent, electronic edition of 1989-10-02)

In (245), (246) and (247), rose-coloured/tinted spectacles/glasses/vision refers to taking the optimistic view.

- (248) Tim Curtiz (David Dukes) is an ex-pat American who writes about a **rose**-tinted Britain for a New York literary magazine. (BNC; 1985–1994; She)
- (249) We are all familiar with the **rose**-tinted particulars produced by some of the less reputable estate agents. (BNC; The Scotsman; 1985–1994; Commerce material)
- (250) Of course such **rose**-tinted retrospection served a dual purpose in that politically it said [...] (BNC; 1985–1994; The Face)
- (251) Whereas the chimpanzees' warfare and cannibalism changed for ever her **rose**-coloured idea of them as somehow 'better' than us. It took Jane Goodall years to accept the new picture. (BNC; 1985–1994; Country Living)

From (248) and (251), rose-tinted/coloured means the things it described (Britain, particulars, retrospection, idea) are viewed in an optimistic way, which means that they are distorted. Since the use of *rosy* omits the expressions of seeing through the view/glasses etc., the metaphoricity is developed.

- (252) Research on interests in local politics, and research on the 'third world' of groups at the national level with only limited and sporadic access to government, has revealed a picture of the interest-group world starkly at odds with the **rosy** optimism of the pluralist perspective. (BNC; 1988; Introduction to British politics: analysing a capitalist democracy; Dearlove, John and Saunders, Peter)

In (252), *rosy* is directly used to describe optimism. The optimistic sense is also used to describe the temperament of a person, as (253) shows:

- (253) A towelling nappy, and nappy liner. He was in a **rosy** mood, kicking his legs and grabbing at her hands as she tried to get the material firmly round his podgy middle. (BNC; 1978; Tales I tell my mother; Wandor, M; Miner, V; Fairbairns, Z; M Roberts; Maitland, Sara)

5.4.5 Summary

The diachronic investigation of each metaphorical sense reveals different stages of their metaphorical development:

Good Health: In ME and EModE, the metonymic basis of skin and the colour rose/rosy are explicit, and the connotation of ‘good health’ is implied by the colour. In LModE, *rose/rosy* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Good Health to describe the abstract concept of health or human beings.

Beauty: In EModE, the metonymic bases of cheeks and the colour rose/rosy are explicit, and the connotation of ‘beauty’ is associated with the metonymic bases of cheeks the rose flower. In LModE, *rose/rosy* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Beauty to describe the abstract concept of beauty or human beings.

Shyness/humility: In EModE, the metonymic basis of skin and the colour rose/rosy are explicit, and the connotation of ‘shyness/humility’ is implied by the colour. In LModE, *rose/rosy*’s connotation of shyness/humility is found, but there is no evidence of metaphorical use.

Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness: *Rose/rosy* has a positive connotation etymologically. In EModE, *rose/rosy* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness to describe the abstract concept of time. In LModE, this metaphorical meaning continues to be used.

Optimism: The metaphorical meaning of Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness is extended to the metaphorical meaning of Optimism. In LModE, the colour ‘rose-coloured/tinted’, and the metonymic basis of spectacles/glasses/vision are together metaphorically used to express the metaphorical sense of Optimism. In this period, *rose/rosy* with the metaphorical sense of optimism is individually used to describe a country, particulars, retrospection, idea, optimism and mood.

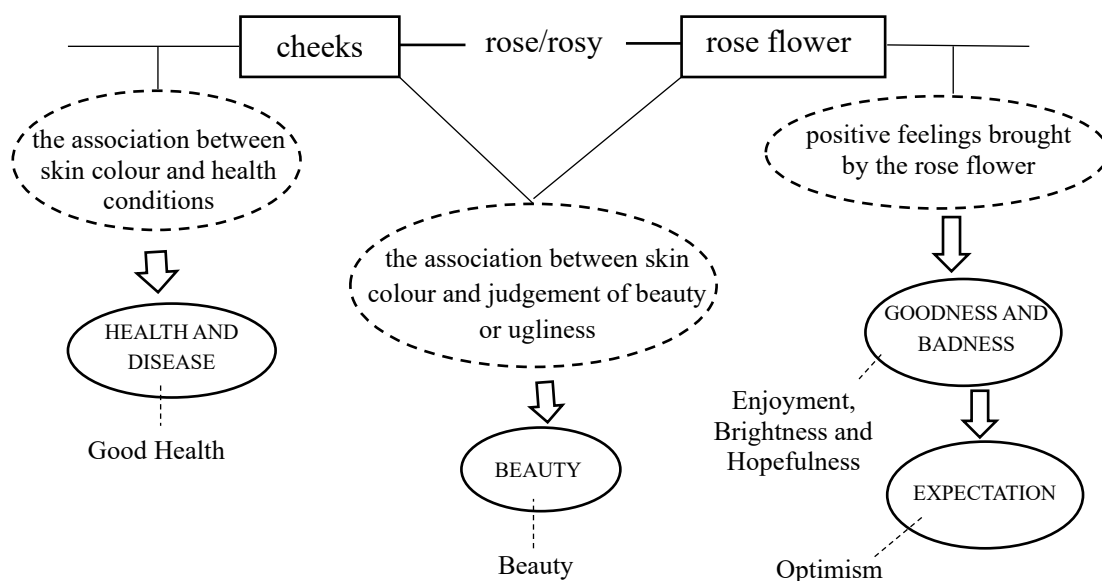
Table 5.1 summarises the metaphorical meanings of *rose/rosy* this study found in four historical periods.

Table 5.1 Metaphorical meanings of *rose/rosy* in four historical periods

	Metaphorical meaning	Target domain	Occurrence in historical periods
1	Good Health	1B09 THE HUMAN BODY	(ME), (EModE), LModE
2	Beauty	2B12 BEAUTY AND UGLINESS	(ME), (EModE), LModE
3	Shyness/humility	2D01 EMOTION	EModE, (LModE)
4	Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness	2C01 GOOD	EModE, LModE
5	Optimism	2A26 EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION	LModE

As Table 5.1 shows, *rose/rosy* has two metaphorical meanings in EModE (one is supported by the corpora) and four metaphorical meanings in LModE (all are supported by the corpora). In ME, two connotations of good health and beauty are found, and they continue to be found in EModE. In EModE, *rose/rosy* has two metaphorical meanings of Shyness/humility in EMOTION and Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness in GOOD. The former is only found as connotation and the latter continues to be used in metaphorical sense in LModE. In LModE, the connotations of good health and beauty develop into the metaphorical meanings of Good Health in THE HUMAN BODY and Beauty in BEAUTY AND UGLINESS. *Rose/rosy* also has one emerging metaphorical meaning of Optimism in EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION.

Based on the analysis of metaphorical meanings in sections 5.1.1 to 5.1.5 and their developments shown in Table 5.1, Figure 5.1 shows the course of the routes taken during the development of the metaphorical meanings of *rose/rosy*.

Figure 5.1 Network of metaphorical meanings of *rose/rosy*

As the figure shows, *rose/rosy* is surrounded by two metonymic bases *rose flower* and *cheeks*. The former motivates the connotation of positive feelings, which is generalised to the domain of GOODNESS AND BADNESS and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness. This metaphorical meaning is then extended to the domain of EXPECTATION and develops the metaphorical meaning of Optimism. The metonymic bases of cheeks have the connotation of health conditions. The connotation is generalised to the domains of HEALTH AND DISEASE and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Good Health. The metonymic bases of *rose flower* and *cheeks* motivate the connotation of beauty, which is generalised to the domain of BEAUTY and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Beauty.

5.5 *Meiguise* 玫瑰色

5.5.1 presents the etymological metonymy and cultural connotations of *meiguise*. 5.5.2 shows the metaphorical meaning of *meiguise* in LModC. 5.5.3 summarises the metaphorical meanings and the metaphorical development of *meiguise*.

5.5.1 Etymological metonymy and cultural connotations

Dacidian shows that *meigui* originally refers to jade in OC and then it also refers to the flower in the Tang dynasty (MC). Wang (2021: 51–57) investigates the etymology of *meigui*. She claims that the referent of *meigui* is changed from red pearl to the rose flower in the history of Chinese. From the Han Dynasty to the Northern and Southern Dynasties,

instances of *meigui* referring to red pearl are more frequent than instances referring to the flower. From the Tang to the Ming and Qing dynasties, the flower meaning gradually became dominant. The flower *meigui* was first recorded in the east Jin dynasty in relation to the royal palace and was associated with wealth and nobility. From the Han dynasty to the early Tang dynasty, *meigui* were grown in the courtyard of the royal palace. After the late Tang Dynasty, *meigui* were not limited to use in the royal palace but were still very expensive. *Meiguiyou* (rose oil) and *meiguibing* (rose cake) were only enjoyed by the nobles because of their expensive cost (2021: 74–75).

When *meigui* firstly refers to a red pearl, it has an implication of beauty and auspiciousness. Then, after it refers to the flower, it has connotations of beauty, fragrance, good fortune, and inviolability because of its rich colour, fragrance and its thorns. Thus, it has become a symbol of femininity. Meanwhile, the rose has played a wealthy role for a long time since it is planted and used by wealthy people. In LModC, a large number of works in English were introduced to China in the mid to late 20th century, and roses' cultural connotation of love also influenced *meigui* (Wang 2021: 86).

Since the colour term *meiguise* occurs after *meigui* is largely used to refer to the flower rather than the red pearl, *meiguise* is a colour term consisting of its metonymy *meigui* (flower) and the suffix 'se' (colour), referring to the reddish colour of *meigui*. *Dacidian* indicates that *meiguise* refers to the colour of the rose, and it is often used to describe good things (*Dacidian* 4: 530). This figurative meaning of *meiguise* probably derives from the positive connotations of the rose flower due to its beauty and fragrance and may also be influenced by the positive connotations of jade which express beauty and auspiciousness.

In summary, *meiguise* as a colour term has the same metonymic bases of *meigui* 'rose' as *rose/rosy*. In addition, *meigui* has another referent of red pearl before the referent of the rose flower. *Meigui* has unique cultural connotations of beauty, fragrance, good fortune, and inviolability in Chinese culture, and *meigui* develops the connotation of romance which is influenced by the connotation of rose in LModC. *Meiguise* has the connotation of describing good things probably because of the positive connotations of the rose flower and jade.

5.5.2 *Meiguise* in Late Modern Chinese

CCL corpus shows that *meiguise* has four metaphorical meanings in this period, which are Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness, Romance, Beauty and Optimism. They are discussed in 5.5.2.1, 5.5.2.2, 5.5.2.3 and 5.5.2.4.

5.5.2.1 Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness

Meiguise metaphorically refers to enjoyable, bright and hopeful fantasy, scenes or predictions, etc. For example:

- (254) 他对未来生活的多少抱负和雄心，对于一个女孩子，又装载了她多少玫瑰色的梦想（1990；报刊 读者）
How many ambitions and ambitions for his future life, and for a girl, how many **meiguise** dreams he loaded her with (1990; Newspaper *Duzhe*)
- (255) [...] 在他“玫瑰色的小康居住”理想中，人们通过居住条件的改善和居住方式的改变 [...]（200x；网络语料 网页）
In his ideal of ‘**meiguise** well-to-do living’, the people, by improving their living conditions and changing their ways of living (200x; Webpage)
- (256) 我一遍一遍复习着那个夜晚，带着一种永恒的玫瑰色的憧憬，去获取力量和勇气，其它任何畏惧都在我心中冰消雪化。（1990；梧桐梧桐；张欣）
I review that night over and over again, with an eternal **meiguise** longing for strength and courage, and any other fear melts away in the ice of my heart. (1990; *Wutongwutong*; Zhang, Xin)

From (254) to (256), *meiguise* is used to describe the beautiful and hopeful dream, which shows that it has the metaphorical sense of Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness.

- (257) 当她结束玫瑰色的少女时代，也曾满心希望拥有一个可爱的女儿 [...]（200x；网络语料 网页）
When she ended her **meiguise** girlhood, she had also been filled with the hope of having a lovely daughter [...] (200x; Webpage)
- (258) [...] 我来晚了对于玫瑰色绽放的人生我总是赶不上流水的节奏也许 [...]（201x；网络语料 微信公众号）
I’m late for the **meiguise** bloom of life I always can’t catch up with the rhythm of the flowing water perhaps [...] (201x; Wechat subscription)
- (259) 在各个憧憬展开玫瑰色高中生活的学生之中，折木奉太郎却是一个“灰色的节能主义者”， [...]（201x；网络语料 中文维基）
Among the students who envision a **meiguise** high school life, Buntaro Oriki is a ‘gray energy conservationist’, [...] (201x; Chinese Wiki)

In (257), (258) and (259), *meiguise* is used to refer to the enjoyment, brightness and hopefulness of a period of life.

- (260) [...] (经济) 图景在任何方面都决不象总统咨文中所描绘的那样充满**玫瑰色彩** (1966; 报刊 人民日报)

The (economic) picture is by no means as **meiguise** in any respect as the one painted in the President's State of the Union address. (1966; Newspaper *Renminribao*)

- (261) 文明与民族是可以灭绝的，我们地球上人类史中的记载也不都是**玫瑰色**的。(1933; 猫城记; 老舍)

Civilisations and peoples can become extinct, and the accounts in the history of mankind on our planet are not all **meiguise**. (1933; *Maochengji*; Laoshe)

- (262) 人们目力所及的是一幅**玫瑰色**的前景，消费市场空前活跃与繁荣，本土公司充满活力和激情。(2008; 激荡三十年——中国企业史; 吴晓波)

As far as the eye can see, there is a **meiguise** outlook, with a consumer market that is as vibrant and prosperous as ever, and local companies that are energetic and passionate. (2008; *Jidangsanshinain – zhongguoqiyeshi*; Wu, Xiaobo)

In (260), (261) and (262), *meiguise* is used to describe the bright and hopeful picture.

5.5.2.2 Romance

Meiguise develops the metaphorical meaning of Love. For example:

- (263) **玫瑰色**是爱 (1989; 报刊 人民日报)

Meiguise is love (1989; Newspaper *Renminribao*)

- (264) 这个毫无**玫瑰色**的爱情故事刻划了这样的心理过程：她总是不满足现状，要追求爱情 [...] (1986; 报刊 读书)

This love story without **meiguise** portrays the psychological process that she is always unsatisfied with the status quo and wants to pursue love [...] (1986; Newspaper *Dushu*)

- (265) 例如《海的女儿》，小时候看只觉得是个**玫瑰色**的、为爱献身的故事 (2019; 报刊 人民日报)

The Daughter of the Sea, for example, was read as a child only as a **meiguise**, dedication-to-love story. (2019; Newspaper *Renminribao*)

- (266) [...] 进行的正是这样的书写，它描绘了爱情中严峻的一面，让人看到了**玫瑰色**之后生活的原色 [...] (2015; 报刊 人民日报)

[...] carries out exactly this kind of writing, which depicts the grim side of love and gives a glimpse of the primary colors of life after the **meiguise** (2015; Newspaper *Renminribao*)

5.5.2.3 Beauty

Meiguise develops the metaphorical meaning of Beauty in this period. For example:

(267) 用手轻轻抚摩他的**玫瑰色**的脸颊。(1931; 家; 巴金)
Gently caressing his **meiguise** cheeks with his hand. (1931; *Jia*; Bajin)

(268) 飘飘荡荡的头巾下, 三张**玫瑰色**的脸儿 [...] (1956; 报刊 人民日报)
Three **meiguise** faces under fluttering turbans [...] (1956; Newspaper *Renminribao*)

(267) and (268) show that *meiguise* is used to describe the beautiful face. The beauty of the face is compared to the beautiful colour of the rose flower.

(269) 晚间的**玫瑰色**公子。(201x; 网络语料 中文维基)
Evening **meiguise** male. (201x; Chinese Wiki)

(270) 你, 柔曼的**玫瑰色**的少女 [...] (1990; 报刊 人民日报)
Thou, soft, **meiguise** maiden, [...] (1990; Newspaper *Renminribao*)

In (269) and (270), *meiguise* metaphorically describes the beauty of a person, referring to the metaphorical meaning of Beauty.

5.5.2.4 Optimism

This metaphorical use of *meiguise* is translated from the rose-coloured/tinted glasses in English. For example:

(271) 神话归神话, 现实归现实。对方同学请你们摘下**玫瑰色**的眼镜看看这个现实的世界 [...] (201x; 网络语料 社区问答)
Myths are myths and reality is reality. Students on the other side, please take off your **meiguise** glasses and look at the real world [...] (201x; Community Q&A)

(272) 简言之, 这便是意义最深远的婚姻。双方都戴着**玫瑰色**的眼镜, 以宽厚的眼光看对方。(1988; 报刊 读者)
In short, this is the most far-reaching marriage. Both parties wear **meiguise** glasses and look at each other with a generous eye. (1988; Newspaper *Duzhe*)

However, this metaphorical sense of *meiguise* is not extended into the optimistic temperament as *rose/rosy*.

5.5.3 Summary

The diachronic investigation of each metaphorical sense reveals different stages of their metaphorical development:

Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness: *meiguise* has a positive connotation etymologically. In LModC, *meiguise* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness to describe dream, hope, life, time, outlook etc.

Romance: *meiguise* has a connotation of representing romantic love etymologically. In LModC, *meiguise* is metaphorically used to describe love.

Beauty: In LModC, the metonymic bases of cheeks and the colour *meiguise* are explicit. The connotation of ‘beauty’ is associated with the metonymic bases of cheeks and the rose flower. In the period, *meiguise* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Beauty to describe the abstract concept of human beings.

Optimism: In LModC, influenced by *rose/rosy*, the colour *meiguise* and the metonymic basis of glasses are together metaphorically used to express the metaphorical sense of Optimism.

Table 5.2 summarises the metaphorical meanings of *meiguise* this study found in four historical periods.

Table 5.2 Metaphorical meanings of *meiguise*

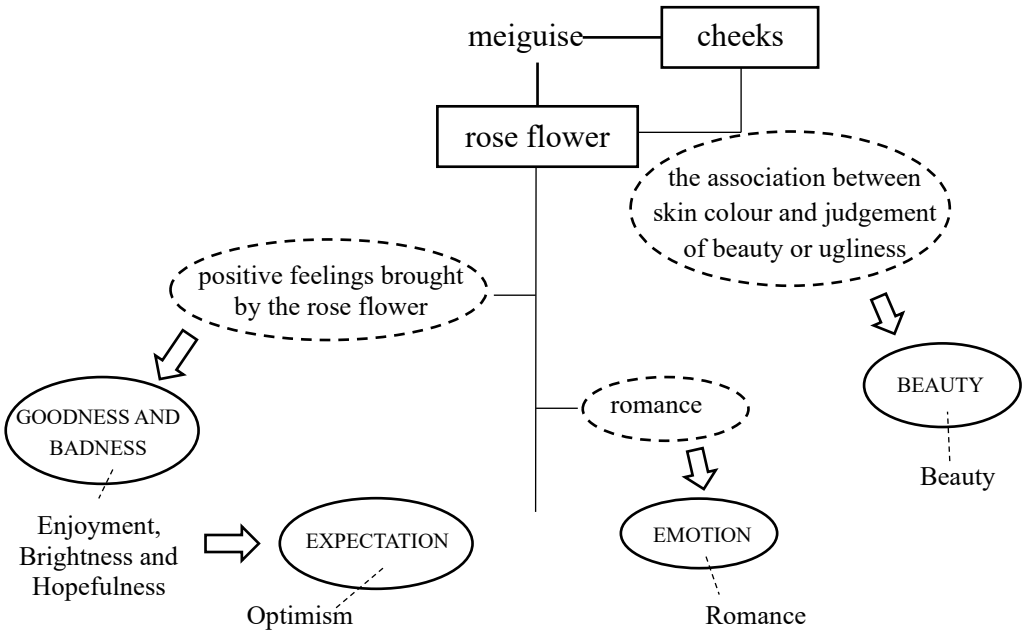
	Metaphorical meaning	Target domain	Occurrence in historical periods
1	Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness	2A26 EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION	LModC
2	Romance	2D LOVE AND FRIENDSHIP	LModC
3	Beauty	2B12 BEAUTY AND UGLINESS	LModC
4	Optimism	2A26 EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION	LModC

As Table 5.2 shows, *meiguise* has four metaphorical meanings (all are supported by the corpora) in LModC. Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness in EXPECTATION AND

PREDICTION, Romance in LOVE AND FRIENDSHIP, Beauty in BEAUTY AND UGLINESS and Optimism in EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION are developed in LModC.

Based on the analysis of metaphorical meanings in sections 5.5.1 and 5.5.2 and their developments shown in Table 5.2, Figure 5.2 shows the course of the routes taken during the metaphorical development of *meiguise*:

Figure 5.2 Network of metaphorical meanings of *meiguise*



Meiguise is surrounded by two metonymic bases, rose flower and cheeks. The former has two connotations. The connotation of positive feelings is generalised to the domain of GOODNESS AND BADNESS and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness. This metaphorical meaning is extended to the domain of EXPECTATION and develops the metaphorical meaning of Optimism. The connotation of romance is generalised to the domain of EMOTION and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Romance. The connotation of beauty is motivated by both the metonymic bases of cheeks and the rose flower. This connotation is generalised to the domain of BEAUTY and develops the metaphorical meaning of Beauty.

5.6 Comparison of *rose/rosy* and *meiguise*

Table 5.3 shows the comparison of metaphorical meanings of *rose/rosy* and *meiguise*, which takes the same format as Table 4.5 of *green* and *qing/lv* in Section 4.4.

Table 5.3 Comparison of metaphorical meanings between *rose/rosy* and *meiguise*

Target domain	Source domain	Metaphorical meaning	Motivation
1C01 HEALTH	<i>rose/rosy</i>	Good Health	metonymic basis of skin
2B12 BEAUTY AND UGLINESS	<i>rose/rosy, meiguise</i>	Beauty	metonymic bases of rose flower and the complexion
2C01 GOOD	<i>rose/rosy, meiguise</i>	Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness	metonymic basis of rose flower
2D01 EMOTION	<i>rose/rosy</i>	Shyness/humility	metonymic basis of skin
2A26 EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION	<i>rose/rosy, meiguise</i>	Optimism	metonymic basis of rose flower
2D08 LOVE AND FRIENDSHIP	<i>meiguise</i>	Romance	metonymic basis of rose flower

As Table 5.3 shows, there are three metaphorical meanings shared by *rose/rosy* and *meiguise*, which are Beauty in BEAUTY AND UGLINESS, Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness in GOOD and Optimism in EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION. The same metaphorical meaning of Beauty is motivated by the same metonymic basis of rose, the flower. *Rose/rosy* and *meiguise* have the same connotation of beauty due to the shared experience of the cheeks being the same colour as the rose flower that symbols the beauty. The connotation is generalised to the metaphorical meaning of Beauty in the domain of BEAUTY, motivated by the generic conceptualisation ATTRIBUTE OF PLANTS IS ATTRIBUTE OF OTHER THINGS. The similarities of Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness, and Optimism are motivated by the same metonymic basis of rose flower, which has the same connotation of positive feelings due to shared experience of the flower. The connotation of positive feelings is generalised to the metaphorical meaning of Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness in the domain of GOOD. This metaphorical meaning is then extended to the domain of EXPECTATION and develops the metaphorical meaning of Optimism. These two generalisations are motivated by the generic conceptualisation FEELING OF PLANTS IS FEELINGS OF OTHERS. In addition, *meiguise*'s connotation of positive feelings may be also motivated by the metonymic basis of red pearl or influenced by *rose/rosy*.

Motivated by the metonymic basis of skin, *rose/rosy* also develops the metaphorical meanings of Good Health and Shyness/humility. *Rose/rosy*'s metonymic basis of the rose flower has the symbolic meaning of love and sex but it is not the metaphorical meaning of the colour term. On the contrary, the flower *meigui* is influenced by the rose flower to have the symbolic meaning of love and sex and the colour term *meiguise* develops the metaphorical meaning of Romance.

5.7 Conclusion

The diachronic investigation of *orange* and *cheng(se)/juse* with the same etymological metonymy of the fruit orange shows the role of metonymic bases in the productivity of colour metaphors. *Orange* and *cheng(se)/juse* do not develop the metaphorical meanings because the same metonymic basis of orange, the fruit, lacks connotations. The diachronic investigation of *rose/rosy* and *meiguise* with the same etymological metonymy of the rose flower draws the same conclusion as that of *green* and *qing/lv*. The similarities are caused by the same metonymic bases having the same connotations due to shared experience and then the same connotations generalising into the same target domains due to the shared generic conceptualisation. The differences are caused by different metonymic bases, culturally specific connotations and different generalisation.

Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 have investigated English and Chinese colour terms that have etymological metonymies of plants. *Green* and *qing/lv* have the same etymological metonymy of leaves, grass etc. *Orange* and *cheng(se)/juse* have the same etymological metonymy of the fruit. *Rose/rosy* and *meiguise* have the same etymological metonymy of the flower. It is shown that the generic conceptualisation ATTRIBUTE OF PLANTS IS AN ATTRIBUTE OF OTHERS motivates many metaphorical mappings, including Youth, Vitality, Immaturity, and Beauty. This reveals that the attributes characterised by colour are used to conceptualise other things, like human beings or their actions, abilities or memory. The generic conceptualisation FEELING OF PLANTS IS FEELINGS OF OTHERS motivates some metaphorical mappings of Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness, and Optimism. This reveals that humans' feelings about plants are used to conceptualise time, abstracts or circumstances. The conceptualisation confirms the unidirectionality from the concrete concepts to the abstract concepts.

Chapter 6 *Purple* and *zi*, *gold(en)* and *jin(se)*

The colour terms, *green* – *qing/lv*, *orange* – *cheng(se)/juse* and *rose/rosy* – *meiguise* with similar plant metonymic bases are investigated in previous chapters, and the findings demonstrate that the metonymic basis plays an essential role in colour terms developing metaphorical meanings. This chapter focuses on the colour term *purple* in English and its Chinese counterpart *zi*, and the colour term *gold(en)* with its Chinese counterpart *jin(se)*, to further explore whether the role of metonymic bases in motivating metaphorical meanings of colour terms is also shown in colour terms with other kinds of metonymic bases. *Purple* and *zi* share the same etymological metonymy of purple dyes. *Gold(en)* and *jin(se)* share the same etymological metonymy of the metal gold. These two metonymic bases are unrelated to plants, and therefore different from those of the colour terms in previous chapters.

In addition, for *gold(en)* – *jinse*, investigating *gold(en)* may contribute to exploring the possible reasons why *orange* – *cheng(se)/juse* does not develop metaphorical meanings since *orange* and *gold(en)* are similar in hue. For *purple* and *zi*, the same etymological metonymies of purple dyes are yielded by different types of source in English and Chinese cultural backgrounds: purple dyes in Anglophone culture yielded from fish shells while *zi* dyes in Chinese culture were produced by *zi* grass. The unique metonymic bases make *purple* and *zi* a pair of colour terms that are worth investigating. In this chapter, 6.1 and 6.2 discuss the metaphorical senses of *purple* and *zi*. 6.3 presents the comparison of *purple* and *zi*. 6.4 and 6.5 address the metaphorical meanings of *gold(en)* and *jin(se)*. 6.6 presents the comparison of *gold(en)* and *jin(se)*.

6.1 *Purple*

6.1.1 discusses the etymological metonymy and connotations of *purple*. 6.1.2, 6.1.3, 6.1.4 and 6.1.5 each begin with a summary of metaphorical meanings of *purple* shown in OED, HTE and MM in the period, which are examined and supplemented by the corpora. Then the metaphorical meanings are analysed in the four periods. 6.1.6 summarises the metaphorical meanings and the metaphorical development of *purple*.

6.1.1 Etymological metonymy and cultural connotations

According to OED (*purple* ADJECTIVE & NOUN, Etymology), *purple* is an alteration of *purpure*. *Purpure* (NOUN & ADJECTIVE, Etymology) derives partly from Latin *purpura* and

partly from Old French *porpre*, *porpere*, *purpura*. It was used as a noun originally and developed its adjective usage. The classical Latin *purpura* refers to ‘shellfish yielding the dye Tyrian purple, purple dyes obtained from this shellfish, purple-dyed cloth, purple garment, purple colour occurring in nature’. In Old and Middle French, *pourpre*, *purpure* refer to purple or crimson robe or garment (OED, *purpure* NOUN & ADJECTIVE, Etymology). It shows that in Latin and Old French *purpure* and the variants refer to both the dyestuff and the colour. This study assumes that the denotation of Latin *purpure* (noun) and its derivation *purpuren* (adjective) develops in the path: shellfish → the dye itself → the cloth dyed with this colour → the colour purple itself. According to OED, the noun sense of *purpure* and the adjective use of *purple* correspond to classical Latin *purpura* and *purpureus*. Unlike *purpure*, *purple* is attested as in adjective use first and is used as a noun in the end of the 14th century. *Purple* had supplanted *purpure* as noun and adjective by the end of 17th century.

It is reasonable to assume that the terms of Latin *purpura* and Old French *porpre* and its variants referring to dyes, cloth and colour were borrowed into English as etymons of *purple* when the purple dyes obtained from the shellfish and the cloth dyed with the colour were brought from the Mediterranean area into England. Biggam (2006) evaluates the likelihood of whelk dyes in Anglo-Saxon England being imported into England from the Mediterranean region or of the dyeing being carried out in Britain. Biggam indicates that purple cloth was produced in the Mediterranean area in a range of grades, from the most expensive known quality, especially the Tyrian dibapha or ‘double-dyed’ fabric, and ‘amethystine’ to a moderately-priced commercial quality. In the later Roman Empire, the most luxurious and expensive purple fabrics were referred to as ‘sacer murex’, ‘the sacred purple (fabric)’. Because of their enormous prices due to the large amount of labour and raw materials consumed, these grades of purple have imperial restrictions and severe penalties for infringing them. However, most purple fabrics were not dyed with the highest grades of purple but with cheaper purples by mixing whelk dye with other dyes and by using mineral and plant dyes (2006: 40–41). Biggam’s study breaks down purple dyes into different grades and illustrates that only the whelk-dyed (highest-quality, double-dyed pure-whelk fabric) purple fabrics were regarded as prestigious and exclusive to political power. Different from the opinion that the whelk-dyed textiles were unlikely to reach England because of the high prices and imperial regulations around them, Biggam argues that purple-coloured fine textiles which were not of imperial quality (whose dyes had contained a minimum possible number of whelk glands) were brought to England from the Mediterranean and they could have legitimately been called whelk-dyed. It is highly

unlikely that there was a large welk-dyeing industry in Britain, but humbler forms of dyeing are possible (2006: 54).

Purpure as a borrowing from Latin and French, had the connotations of richness, luxury and privilege shaped by the sociocultural background of the shellfish dyes in the Mediterranean area. Elliott (2008: 178–187) investigates *purple*'s codification in the ancient world. According to her paper, *purple* has a prestige value dating back to 1600 B.C. The wealthy regarded purple clothing as a kind of conspicuous consumption. It is widely accepted that the colour purple denotes riches and high rank. By the sixth century B.C., *purple*'s symbolic meaning started to be associated with political power. This symbolism was established in Persia. The usage of the colour purple as an official emblem continued to spread and thrive. The entire Greek world used purple for status purposes because of the extensive trading, commercial, and political ties between the Lydian Empire and the Persian Empire. *Purple* was becoming more and more symbolic of ideas of political power and official rank. Caesar's dictatorship codified and regulated *purple*'s symbolism of royal power. The regulation that only senators holding magistracies could wear purple clothing was reiterated by Octavian in 36 B.C. It was obvious how *purple* served to indicate political power, but because *purple* could be a gift from the emperor or be used to identify senators or courtiers, it came to represent a variety of privileged groups. Purple dyes were brought from Rome to Britain together with their prestigious associations.

Purple is not only used for royal purposes but also for sacred purposes. Jensen (1963) discusses the use of the colour purple in religious contexts:

In the late seventh century Wilfrid of Ripon had the four gospels in letters of purest gold on purpled parchment and illuminated. His altar at Ripon was vested in purple woven with gold. Purple in the Middle Ages was used for sacred and royal purposes throughout Christendom as it had been used in antiquity and classical times. [...] and Pope Paul II permitted his cardinals to substitute cochineal scarlet for their robes and hats. Cardinals still wear purple in Lent, Advent, and in Conclave. [...] Present-day Romans tell us that purple birettas were instituted for bishops in 1869 who had previously worn black as do ordinary priests. At the recent death of Pope Pius XII, the cardinals did not wear their red robes, but wore the purple which may partially differentiate for us the ancient purple from red (1963: 117–118).

Purple also has negative connotations in religious contexts. Because of the expensiveness of purple products, *purple* is a symbol of luxury and sin from the perspective of a few of the early Christians and the early Muslims (Jensen 1963: 116).

Purple is generally described as a generic colour of purple dyes obtained from sea snails, but it does not mean it has a specific hue. Rather, it means a variety of colours in ancient times. Jensen (1963: 113–114) claims that the hue of royal purple ranges from deep red-black to violet, and ordinary purple was reddish in ancient times. Jensen cites the description of purple in the work by Sir James Frazer (1955: 390) as ‘Smooth Adonis from his native rock Ran purple to the sea.’ (cited in Jensen 1963: 114) and explains that the reddish colour of the river is due to the red and iron-bearing soil up the river. In the old Venus-Adonis religious legends, this reddish water is described as the wounded god’s blood. This shows that purple is reddish and looks like the colour of blood. In the present study, the corpora also show that purple was perceptualised as the colour of blood in ancient times, for example: ‘& Latines have applied the purple colour to blood, & bloody death; as porphureos thanatos, purple death, in Homer, Il.’ (EEBO V2; 1627; Annotations upon the five bookes of Moses, the booke of the Psalmes, and the Song of Songs, or, Canticles; Ainsworth, Henry). This is because *purple* was understood as several colours, including dull red like the colour of blood, at that time.

In short, *purple* has the connotations of richness, luxury and privilege because of the rareness and expensiveness of the purple dyes yielded from molluscs.

6.1.2 Old English

OED shows that *purple* is used as a distinguishing feature of the clothing of the privileged class in this period. In TOE, *purple* is under the category of SYMBOL OF POWER. MM indicates that *purple* has a metaphorical connection to the domain of SOCIAL POSITION in OE. However, according to the quotations of OED (ADJECTIVE 1.a.), this sense is just a connotation of *purple*, which does not develop into a metaphorical meaning in this period.

6.1.2.1 (privilege)

HTE and MM indicate that *purple* is associated with Privilege in OE because OED shows that *purple* is used as a distinguishing colour of the dress of emperors, kings, etc. in this period. However, according to OED’s quotations labelled OE and corpus evidence, *purple* is only used as the literal meaning of the purple colour of royal garments in this period, which means that the metaphorical expression of Privilege does not develop at this time. For example:

(273) [...] heo hi silfe mid cynelicum reafe gefræt wode and mid **purpran**
gescriðde and hire heafod mid golde and [...] (Helsinki; OE)

(273) shows that *cynelicum* (royal) robe is purple, indicating that purple is used as the symbolic colour of Privilege. However, *purple* is still used literally in this sentence. The figurative meaning of Privilege is implied by the context and cultural background. As 6.1.1 discussed, in light of how labour-intensive it was to produce purple dye from its raw materials of snails, purple apparel was extremely rare and expensive and often only worn by kings, other members of the royal family, or those with high-ranking authority. Therefore, the colour purple became a symbol of political power. However, the symbolic meaning is still contained in the literal meaning of *purple*. In OE, *purple* does not develop the metaphorical meaning of Privilege which, according to OED, is not used until EModE.

In addition, OED provides an example showing *purple*'s connotation of privilege:

(274) Exiit ergo iesus portans spinicam coronam et purpuream uestimentum: eode
forðon ðe hælend berende ðyrnenne beg & **purple** hrægle fellereode wede
(OED; OE)

(274) depicts the scene of the mocking of Jesus by soldiers before the crucifixion of Jesus. The soldiers dressed Jesus in a purple robe which symbolises Empire to mock Jesus as the 'Heyle kyng of Iewes'. Collins (2009) proposes that the mocking scene is influenced by the type of ancient mime that could be characterised as 'the mocking of a king'. She provides two incidents that occurred in Alexandria as evidence for such a mime. In this kind of mime, people mock a person by dressing and treating him like a king. In (274), the mocking behaviour of clothing Jesus in a purple robe is to indicate that Jesus is a king, which shows that purple is the colour of political power. This is an abnormal usage of the symbolic meaning of *purple*. Due to the huge influence of this single biblical episode, *purple* as a visual symbol of this story gradually develops other metaphorical meanings around its religious connotations in later periods.

6.1.3 Middle English

According to OED, HTE and MM, in ME, the connotation of privilege continues to be used and shows a development in this period, so it is discussed in 6.1.3.1. There is one emerging connotation of mourning (ADJECTIVE 2.b.) in this period, which is shown in 6.1.3.2. Although MM shows that *purple* has a metaphorical connection of mourning in

this period, the quotations from OED and the corpora show that purple is used literally with a connotation of mourning. This sense does develop into a metaphorical meaning.

6.1.3.1 (privilege)

As mentioned in 6.1.1, purple has the connotations of richness, luxury and privilege because of the rareness and expensiveness of the purple dyes yielded from molluscs. These connotations are related to some extent. The privileged class usually possesses luxurious things. In 6.1.2.1, *purple*'s connotation of privilege is shown. In this period, two examples show *purple*'s connotation of richness:

(275) al þe cure ouertild þ he wes itohen on; wið **purpres** & pelles. (Helsinki; 1150–1250)

(276) Ys wille he heuede ynoh, **purpre** & pal he droh, & oþer murþes mo. (OED; a1350)

According to OED, *purpure and pall* is an alliterative collocation and the *pall* loses its specific sense of 'purple cloth' and means simply 'rich cloth'. *Purpre(s)* in (275) and (276) is understood as purple clothing regarded as a luxury.

6.1.3.2 (mourning)

Mourning is the first extended meaning of *purple* that derives from the biblical episode of Jesus being clothed in purple for the crucifixion. For example:

(277) With **purple** wede to the heuenly mancyon Hir soule went vp the last day of May. (OED; ?1495)

In (277), a purple garment was worn by the person who went to heaven, which shows that purple symbolises mourning. Since OED indicates that *purple* is used in this symbolic meaning of mourning in Christian contexts, it is assumed that this usage derives from Jesus's crucifixion story, which is discussed in 6.1.1. Jesus was dressed in a purple garment by soldiers in order to mock him as the king of the Jews before the crucifixion of Jesus. Thus, purple is associated with Jesus's death and mourning for him. As the scene of Jesus's crucifixion episode was repeated, depicted and interpreted in later times, more figurative meanings emerge. EEBO provides another version of texts describing the biblical episode of Jesus being clothed in purple for the crucifixion in this period. It is in *Ancrene Riwe*, which is a monastic rule for female anchoresses:

(278) At this hour they clothyd him in a mantel of **purple** And at this houre they put a crowne of thornes vpon his hede painfully prickyng him and deliuerd hym a rede in his honde as a grete staffe and sith knelyng in scorne salewed hym sayeng Heyle kyng of Iewes. (EEBO V3; 1493; Ancren riwle)

(278) adds a depiction of the psychological and physical torture Jesus endured, thus reinforcing the expression of the people's mourning for Jesus. It is assumed that *purple* develops its metaphorical meaning because *purple* becomes the visual symbol of Jesus's crucifixion and it is associated with the emotion of mourning derived from the crucifixion scene. The association between mourning for Jesus and *purple* is reflected in the liturgical forms of Lent. According to the Lent entry in Wikipedia¹⁰, pastors and priests wear violet vestments during the Lenten season in the Lutheran, Methodist, Roman Catholic, and many Anglican churches. Another liturgical form of Lent is veiling religious images. All statues (and paintings in England) in the church were traditionally covered in violet. Also, crosses were veiled in purple fabrics by churches.

In this period, *purple* was used symbolically for mourning, chiefly in Christian churches. However, from the perspective of linguistics, *purple* is still used in the literal meaning but showing the possibility of the emergence of the metaphorical meaning of Mourning.

6.1.4 Early Modern English

OED shows that the connotation of privilege develops into metaphorical meaning in EModE, which is shown in 6.1.4.1. The connotation of mourning shown in 6.1.4.2. According to OED, HTE and MM, there are emerging metaphorical meanings of Richness and Splendour (ADJECTIVE 3.) and a connotation of bloodstain (ADJECTIVE 2.c.) in this period, which are shown in 6.1.4.3 and 6.1.4.4. OED also shows that a compound *purple sin* (*purple sin* NOUN) occurs in this period. Corpora provides an emerging metaphorical meaning of Death. Since the metaphorical meanings of Sin and Death possibly develop from the metaphorical meaning of Mourning, they are discussed with Mourning in 6.1.4.2.

6.1.4.1 Privilege

In this period, *purple* shows a developing process of becoming more and more symbolic of political power and official rank. For example:

¹⁰ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lent> (Accessed: 10 February 2025)

- (279) Many persones highly cōmending and praisyng the frugalitee and spare maner of liuyng that Antipater vsed, who leed a life veray homely or grosse, & farre from all delices: yea, quod he, Antipater weareth awhite mantelle outwardely but wtin he goeth in **purple** euery ynche of hym. (EEBO V2; 1542; Apophthegmes; Erasmus, Desiderius)

In (279), *purple* metaphorically refers to richness. It reflects the cultural connotation of *purple*. *Purple* is regarded as a distinguishing feature of richness in antiquity.

- (280) Kynge Alexander the great conquerour, cōmanded the Grekes to ordeyn garmentes of **purple**, that whan he returned from his conqueste, they myght in that apparaile honour his victory that he had agaynst them of the orient, with solemne sacrifice: The people for that entent paying heed siluer: One Theocrite a philosopher sayd to Alexander: I haue ben a great whyle in doute, but nowe I perceiue clerely by the sayeng of Homer, that this shalbe thy **purple** deth. (EEBO V2; 1532; The education or bringinge vp of children; Plutarch, Elyot, Thomas)
- (281) [...] **Purple** in old tyme was for the wearynge of none, but kynges and princes. (EEBO V2; 1542; Apophthegmes; Erasmus, Desiderius, Udall, Nicholas)
- (282) In eschewyng wherof, Be it ordeyned by the Auctoritie of this p~sent P~liament that no p~sone of whate estate condic~on or degre that he be use in his apparell eny Cloth of golde of **Purpoure** Coloure or Sylke of **Purpoure** Coloure but onely the Kyng the Qwene the Kyng~ Moder the Kyng~ Chylder the King~ Brethers and Sisters, upon payne to forfett the seid Apparell wherwyth so ev~ yt be myxte, and for usyng the same to forfaite xx pounce (Helsinki; 1500–1570)
- (283) [...] So euery true crysten man sholde do As ferre as hispower cometh vnto I Sapyence am of the kynges counsayll Whiche is clothed with **purple** that sygnyfyeth The grace and the pulcrynute without fayll Of grete vertues that in hym shyneth [...] (EEBO V2; 1504; Here begynneth the booke called the example of vertu; Hawes, Stephen)

(280) shows that King Alexander commanded the Greeks to order garments of *purple*, which shows that emperor's appreciation of *purple*. (281) and (282) claim that *purple* is only allowed to be worn by royal families. In (283), *purple* is used for the king and signifies grace and great virtues, indicating *purple* is a distinguishing feature of royalty and develops positive meanings. In these four sentences, *purple* is used as a literal meaning but shows its close association with privileged classes. In this period, *purple* develops its non-literal meaning of Privilege. For example:

- (284) Suche a sorte of fayre houses belonging to prestes specially if thou dydest se at Rome so many **purple** cardynals wayted vpon with legyons of

seruauntes [...] (EEBO V2; 1535; The dyaloge bytwene Iulius the seconde, Genius, and saynt Peter; Erasmus, Desiderius)

(285) This Head of the Roman Hierarchy with his **purple** Cardinals are so Emperour-like and of such a Senatorious splendour. (EEBO V3; 1664; A modest enquiry into the mystery of iniquity; More, Henry)

(286) They that were wonte to fayre delicatly, perishe in the stretes: they that afore were brought vp in **purple**, make now moch of donge. (EEBO V2; 1535; Bible; Coverdale, Miles)

(287) Dogs (far kinder than their **purple** Master). (OED; 1635)

(288) Shou'd my passive Body be pregnant by the **purple** Villain. (OED; a1704)

(284) shows that *purple* also refers to the rank of a cardinal on the metonymic bases of their vestments. Similar to the development of *purple*'s reference to royalty, *purple* is a distinguishing colour of cardinals and then gradually represents this privileged class. This can be regarded as the mapping of the hierarchy system between political power and religion, which is illustrated in (285). High and privileged classes in certain hierarchies can monopolise the use of one colour, thus highlighting the power and status of the privileged class. In (286), *brought vp in purple* means 'they' are nobles. *Purple* in this sentence shows a transitional stage in the development of the metaphorical meaning of Privilege, between the literal meaning of purple garments and the metaphorical meaning of a privileged-class upbringing. It also shows that *purple* has broadened to refer to upper classes generally. (287) and (288) show *purple*'s fully developed metaphorical meaning of Privilege.

6.1.4.2 (mourning), Sin, Death

As mentioned in 6.1.3.2, *purple* has the connotation of mourning, which probably derives from the story of Jesus's crucifixion. In this period, this connotation continues to occur and also develops a sense of penitence. For example:

(289) In token that this hipocriticall church standeth in the murder of innocentes thys woman ys here gorgyouslye appareled in **purple** as gyltye of their deathes which hath bene slayne and also in freshe scarlett aseuermore freshe and rydye to continue in the same bloud shedyng. (EEBO V2; 1545?; Second part of the image of both churches. Image of both churches; Bale, John)

- (290) But when he sunke into the **purple** waue; He mournd extremely; and did much deprauē Vnprofitable penitence [...] (EEBO V2; 1624?; Batrachomyomachia; Passe, Willem van de)

In (289), the wearing of purple represents death of guilty people, which shows that *purple* is the symbol of guilt and penitence. In the colour symbolism articulated by the medieval theologian pseudo-Hugo of St. Victor, purple signifies penitence (Hall 2009: 348), which means that penance and mourning become significant connotations of *purple* at least in Christianity. (290) is an interesting example shown in EEBO. Although *purple* in this sentence may be literally used to describe the dark colour of wave, it might be figuratively connected to mourning. There is no example showing that the connotation of mourning develops into a metaphorical meaning.

As Jesus's crucifixion episode motivates the connotation of mourning, it also gives rise to the emergence of the metaphorical meaning of Sin. As 6.1.3.2 shows, churches use purple to emphasise Jesus's sacrifice, and the colour purple reminds us that we dishonour Jesus with our sins. Thus, *purple* is associated with sin, which is illustrated by the following example:

- (291) [...] But that the blood of Iesus Christ hath power, To make my **purple** sinne as white as Snowe. (EEBO V2; 1601; Two lamentable tragedies; Yarrington, Robert)

Purple's metaphorical meaning could have another interpretation: *purple* represents luxury, so a few of the early Christians and the early Muslims regard it as a symbol of sin.

Jesus's crucifixion episode may also be one of the motivations for the metaphorical meaning of Death. For example:

- (292) That is, The death of purple, hath thee by the backe Purple, death and princely desten. And by princely destiney, u goest to wracke. It cannot haue y full grace in englyshe. But on of mor. is a denominatiue of purpura: and the poetes dooen often ioine it for an epitheton with the substantiue mors, death. Because that when a bodye is slain, the gore bloode that issueth out of the wounde is of **purple** colour. And he called it princely destiney to dye in riche araye, or for preciou and gaye thynges. (EEBO V2; 1542; Apophthegmata; Erasmus, Desiderius)

- (293) And in the Gospel we reade, that his enemies put a purple garment vpon him, to portend his **purple** death. This colour was also prefigured in the red sea that saued Israel; in thered cowe in the sacrifices; in the red cord

in Reahabs window, the secure hostage [...] (EEBO V3; 1614; Come and see; Loe, William)

These examples explain different motivations for this metaphorical meaning. (292) claims that *purple* refers to death because the colour of blood is purple, and blood is associated with death, whereas (293) implies that *purple* relates to death because Jesus was dressed in *purple* when he died.

In short, the metaphorical meanings of Mourning, Sin and Death are all developed in this period. The motivation for Mourning is assumed as *purple* being the visual representation of Jesus's crucifixion (Jesus is typically represented as wearing a purple garment in the scene). Thus, *purple* is associated with the emotions of mourning evoked by the scene. The motivations of Sin and Death are uncertain, but they possibly derive from *purple*'s connotations of mourning.

6.1.4.3 Richness and Splendour

Purple has the connotation of richness and luxury, which is extended to splendour and glory. For example:

(294) Oft to beginnings graue and shewes of great is sowed A **purple** [L. purpureus] pace, one or more for vewe. (OED; 1598)

(295) All the Glories of the **Purple** Spring. (OED; 1697)

The connotation of richness and luxury is mapped onto literary works, resulting in the metaphorical meaning of elaborate or excessive ornateness of literary composition. For example:

(296) One Part of the Work should not so far out-shine, as to Obscure and Darken the Other. The **Purple Patches** he claps upon his Course Style, make it seem much Courser than it is. (OED; ?1704)

(297) In an Epick Poem, the beginning is often Pompous and Magnificent, and promises much; the Poet excels in many beautiful Descriptions;..but, like fine **Purple Patches** in a Garment, they are generally misplac'd. (OED; 1712)

The phrase *purple patches* is previously used with positive connotations, but later with more negative connotations.

6.1.4.4 (bloodstain)

From the perspective of present-day English, it may be difficult to associate *purple* with blood. However, in antiquity the tint of this purple is close to dark red, like the colour of clotted blood. Corpora give evidence of *purple* referring to blood. For example:

(298) [...]whiche art inbaumed with the **purple** bloode Of blessed saint Albon
prince of that region [...] (EEBO V2; 1534; Life of Saint Alban and Saint
Amphibal; Lydgate, John)

(291) in 6.1.4.2 also implies *purple* referring to the colour of blood. It is repeated as example (299):

(299) [...] But that the blood of Iesus Christ hath power, To make my **purple**
sinne as white as Snowe. (EEBO V2; 1601; Two lamentable tragedies;
Yarrington, Robert)

In (299), *purple sinne* and ‘blood’ are used in a stylistic pattern, correlating to each other.

Metonymically, *purple* is used to refer to bloodstained scenes. For example:

(300) [...] Unwillingly I come to wage this War, Compell’d by injuries too great
to bear. Banisht my Country, while I make the Flood, That laves the
Rhine, run **Purple** all with blood. (EEBO V2; 1694; Satyricon; Petronius
Arbiter. Burnaby, William)

In (300), *purple* can be regarded as a metonymic usage of referring to bloody scenes of war, or it can also refer to the tragic scenes of war more poetically and metaphorically.

6.1.5 Late Modern English

The metaphorical meaning of Sin and the connotation of bloodstain continue to be used as in the previous period. The corpora do not show any examples of Death in this period. Thus, they are not discussed in this section. The metaphorical meanings of Privilege, the connotation of mourning, the metaphorical meaning of Richness and Splendour continue to be used and develop in this period, which are discussed in 6.1.5.1, 6.1.5.2, 6.1.5.3. OED, HTE and MM show that there are three emerging metaphorical meanings of Success (purple patch NOUN), Pornographic Writing (NOUN 8.a.), Politics (ADJECTIVE 4.). Success is discussed with Richness and Splendour in 6.1.5.3, Pornographic Writing is discussed in 6.1.5.4. and Politics is discussed in 6.1.5.5. Corpora show that *purple* also has two

emerging metaphorical meanings of Anger and Homosexuality and an emerging connotation of feminism, which are discussed in 6.1.5.6, 6.1.5.7 and 6.1.5.8.

6.1.5.1 Privilege

In this period, *purple* continues to be used in its metaphorical meaning of Privilege. For example:

(301) The stupid Claudius, brother of Germanicus, was already in their camp, invested with the Imperial **purple** and prepared to support his election by arms. (CLMET3.1; 1776; The decline and fall of the Roman Empire; Gibbon, Edward)

(302) Cardinal Riviera, promoted to the **purple** by the interest of the Pretender. (CLMET3.1; 1735–69; Letters; Walpole, Horace)

(303) Very likely the poor cottager, under whose roof I reposed, is happier than the luxurious Roman upon the remains of whose palace, perhaps, his shed is raised: and yet that Roman flourished in the **purple** days of the empire, when all was wealth and splendour, triumph and exultation. (CLMET3.1; 1783; Dreams, Waking Thoughts, and Incidents; Beckford, William)

(301) and (302) show that *purple* metaphorically refers to the privileged power of hierarchy systems. In (301), *purple* represents emperorship. *Purple* is originally used for royalty, and then the privileged symbolism is broadened to a variety of privileged groups in later times. For example, (302) shows that *purple* is used by cardinals. (303) represents a further figurative development of *purple* in this sense, where *purple* refers to the authority, richness and glory.

(304) The former tyrants, Caligula and Nero, Commodus, and Caracalla, were all dissolute and unexperienced youths, educated in the **purple**, and corrupted by the pride of empire, the luxury of Rome, and the perfidious voice of flattery. (CLMET3.1; 1776; The decline and fall of the Roman Empire; Gibbon, Edward)

(305) I have ever chosen my friends for their worth and not for their station; and, taking society vertically as I have done, I have counted friends in all the strata, from those born in the **purple** down to fishermen and servants. (CLMET3.1; 1885; The Autobiography of Christopher Kirkland; Linton, Eliza Lynn)

In (304) and (305), *purple* is used as (286) in 6.1.4.1. Although *purple* in these sentences can be interpreted in a literal way that ‘they’ are educated in purple garments and ‘they’

were born in the purple garments, it is more likely that *purple* here refers to a royal status, which is a metaphorical use.

- (306) The other species to which I have to direct attention is the Kallima paralekta, a butterfly of the same family group as our **Purple** Emperor [...] (CLMET3.1; 1869; The Malay archipelago; Wallace, Alfred Russel)

In (306), *purple* is literally used to describe the emperor butterfly as the colour of the butterfly is purple, but *purple*'s metaphorical meaning of Privilege might have motivated the use of the term 'emperor' for the butterfly. Thus, this sentence shows *purple*'s close association with emperors.

6.1.5.2 (mourning)

As discussed in 6.1.3.2 and 6.1.4.2, *purple* has the connotation of mourning because of Jesus's crucifixion. In this period, corpora show *purple* has the symbolic meaning of mourning. For example:

- (307) [...] but I believed that people of fashion often wore **purple** for mourning [...] (CLMET3.1; 1847; Jane Eyre; Brontë, Charlotte)
- (308) The evergreen leaves of the wreath remind us that God never changes. The colour **purple** represents sorrow. Three of our candles are in this colour to represent our sorrow. (BNC; 1992; Leeds Diocesan Catholic Voice)

These examples show that *purple* represents mourning and sorrow in the context of Christianity.

6.1.5.3 Richness and Splendour, Success

According to OED, *purple* figuratively refers to emotions that are deeply felt or extravagantly expressed:

- (309) Although this is but a dry reply to the Major's **purple** enthusiasm, the Major receives it graciously. (OED; 1848)
- (310) But at mid-height, on Newby Moss, there is a **purple patch** of excitement in a tight concentration of potholes, [...] (BNC; 1991; Wainwright in the limestone dales; Wainwright, Alfred)

In (309), *purple* figuratively describes that the Major's enthusiasm is deeply felt or extravagantly expressed. (310) shows that *purple patch* metaphorically refers to the extremeness of emotions.

Purple continuously refers to the elaborate or excessive ornateness of literary composition in this period (as discussed in 6.1.4.3) with further development. It is directly used to describe passages in phrases, such as *purple passages* or *purple prose*, referring to florid literary passages, added to a text for dramatic effect. For example:

(311) The book is..marked by great reserve and quietness of tone... There is not a '**purple** passage' in all the two volumes. (OED; 1882)

(312) The postscript to this chapter comes from Leonard Ravenhill and you can hear the passion coming through as he waxes lyrical in this highly quotable (or unquotable, depending on your tastes) **purple** passage: No man is greater than his prayer life. The pastor who is not praying is playing; the people who are not praying are straying. (BNC; 1991; Church planting: our future hope; Cleverly, Charlie)

This metaphorical meaning derives from metaphorically comparing elaborate and excessively ornate literary passages added to plain texts to adding a patch of purple material to an undecorated garment. This metaphorical meaning of *purple* is motivated by the expensive purple dyes that are used by the rich or high-ranking people.

As discussed in 6.1.4.3, *purple patch* is metaphorically used of elaborate and ornate literary works. In this period, *purple patch* also metaphorically refers to a notable period of time, or specifically refers to a run of good luck or success. For example:

(313) Were they a coincidence or are you going through a **purple** patch at the moment? It is neither a purple patch nor is it coincidence (BNC; 1985–1994; Courtaulds News)

6.1.5.4 Pornographic Writing

Purple refers to erotic and pornographic writing. OED associates *purple* in this sense with *blue* in the colloquial sense of indecency and obscenity. Thus, it is assumed that *purple* develops this meaning because it is regarded as a deeper and darker shade than blue. This sense dates back to the early 20th century. For example:

(314) I should show the public that here is a fine novel, apart from all ‘**purple**’ and all ‘words’. (OED; 1930)

(315) Armed at last with a definition of obscenity, Victorian prosecutors proceeded to destroy many examples of fine literature and scientific speculation. Under the law of obscene libel, almost any work dealing with sexual passion could be successfully prosecuted. The Hicklin test focused upon the effect of the book on the most vulnerable members of society, whether or not they were likely to read it. One ‘**purple** passage’ could consign a novel to condemnation, and there was no defence of literary merit. (BNC; 1990; Media law: the rights of journalists and broadcasters; Robertson, Geoffrey)

In (314), *purple* with inverted commas refers to pornographic writing contents, and the tone of it in this sentence is negative. (315) shows that *purple passage* with inverted commas refers to the contents dealing with sexual passion. It is notable that *purple* (*passage*) is used with inverted commas, suggesting that the usage is still regarded as unusual.

6.1.5.5 Politics

Purple is used as a political colour. It is not customarily associated with any significant modern ideology. As a result, it is occasionally used to signify a mix of different ideologies or new protest groups that criticise all existing major parties and minor parties. According to OED, in US politics, *purple* designates a state that is politically moderate or centrist since it is one where support for the Republican and Democratic parties is roughly equal among voters. OED compares *purple* with red state and blue state, which means that *purple*’s political meaning derives from its nature as a mixture of red and blue. For example:

(316) In the 2000 election year of red states or blue, Florida was **purple**. It is up for grabs, in play, a toss-up state, ergo a high traffic area for politicians. (OED; 2002)

6.1.5.6 Anger

Corpora show that *purple* generally refers to anger. For example:

(317) But he had little reason yet to ask for a search warrant and Mr Simpson would go **purple** in the face and throw every legal book in his considerable library at him if he so much as tried. (BNC; 1991; A season for murder; Granger, Ann)

(318) Now some of his neighbours are **purple** with rage. (BNC; 1985–1994; Central television news scripts)

(319) Its stained glass, work of the same hands that had wrought for the cathedral of Chartres, admitted only an almost angry ray of **purple** or crimson, here or there, across the dark, roomy spaces. (CLMET3.1; 1896; Gaston de Latour, an Unfinished Romance; Pater, Walter)

(317) shows that purple in the face accompanies the emotion of anger. In (318), *purple* is used with anger, independently with the metonymic basis of complexion. It could be because people's complexion turns purple if they have intense emotions. Different from (317), (319) does not refer to the complexion. The angry ray is described as purple, indicating that anger is represented by *purple*.

(320) Then, with every vein in his head and face swollen with the great exertion, and his countenance suffused with a lively **purple**, he drew a little nearer to the fire, and turning his back upon it, said with dignity: 'If that's any comfort to anybody, they're welcome to it. If it an't, I'm sorry for 'em. (CLMET3.1; 1839; Barnaby Rudge; Dickens, Charles)

As (320) shows the intense emotions may cause the exertion of the vein, leading to purple complexion. In fact, other intense emotions such as unhappiness and delight can also give rise to a purple complexion. For example:

(321) He took her up from the ground, and held her in his arms for a minute, tight pressed against his strong-beating heart. His face was **purple** and his eyes dim, as he put her down and left her. (CLMET3.1; 1843; Vanity Fair; Thackeray, William M.)

(322) [...] the old man would say, nudging his neighbour with a delighted **purple** face, did you ever see such a chap? (CLMET3.1; 1843; Vanity Fair; Thackeray, William M.)

Purple refers to misery and delight in (321) and (322). These sentences also indicate that these emotions all have the metonymic basis of the complexion because intense emotions often accompany a purple complexion, which may be due to increased blood flow in the face, according to human experience. However, there are no examples that show that these emotions develop into metaphorical senses.

6.1.5.7 Homosexuality

BNC provides evidence showing that *purple* has the metaphorical meaning of Homosexuality. For example:

- (323) Somewhere, I've seen her somewhere. I double backed through the faggot district, Christopher Street. I skirted the dike district too — or at any rate two big chicks denied me entry to their **purple** sanctum. (BNC; 1985; Money: a suicide note; Amis, Martin)

Purple develops this metaphorical sense probably because it is similar to lavender which is the symbolic colour of homosexuality.

6.1.5.8 (feminism)

This study finds two examples of *purple* associated with feminism:

- (324) [...] The Color **Purple** offers a good example of where feminist film criticism might go next. (BNC; 1991; Women: a cultural review)
- (325) # The Color **Purple** #... being the book that made black women's writing popular # 'Womanist is to feminist as **purple** is to lavender.' (BNC; 1985–1994; New Internationalist)

These two examples both discuss the book *The Color Purple* written by Alice Walker. It seems that the examples only reflect the title of the book which contains *purple* associated with the feminist theme of the book. In fact, purple is used as the colour (at least, one of the colours) of feminism before the book was published. The Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) was a militant organisation and political movement for women's suffrage in the United Kingdom from 1903 to 1918. Purple, white, and green were chosen as the WSPU's official colours in 1908. Emmeline Pethick Lawrence explained this choice in the WSPU's newspaper, *Vote for Woman* in 1908: 'purple...stands for the royal blood that courses in the veins of every suffragette; white...stands for purity in private and public life; green is the colour of hope and the emblem of spring.' (Quotation from the journal *Votes for Women* in 1908 cited by David Fairhall, *Common Ground*, Tauris, 2006: 31) Feminists reused the colour in the 1960s and 1970s to symbolise the Women's Liberation movement and pay tribute to the suffragettes. Although *purple* has the connotation of feminism, this study does not find any examples showing the metaphorical use of *purple* to refer to feminism, so it is bracketed in the sub-title.

6.1.6 Summary

The diachronic investigation of each metaphorical sense reveals different stages of their metaphorical development:

Privilege: In OE and ME, the metonymic bases of clothes and the colour purple are explicit, and the connotation of ‘privilege’ is implied by the colour. In EModE, *purple* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Privilege to describe people. In LModE, it continues to be used.

(mourning): In ME, the metonymic bases of clothes and the colour purple are explicit in Christian contexts, and the connotation of mourning is implied by the colour purple. In EModE, *purple* continues to be used with the connotation of mourning. In LModE, corpora show that the colour purple is used as a symbol of mourning but there is no evidence showing *purple* is metaphorically used to express mourning.

Sin: In EModE, *purple* is metaphorically used to describe sin in Christian contexts. It possibly derives from *purple*’s connotations of mourning.

Death: In EModE, *purple* is metaphorically used to describe death. It possibly derives from *purple*’s connotations of mourning.

Richness and Splendour: In EModE, *purple* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of splendour to describe spring. The colour purple and the metonymic bases of patches are together metaphorically used to express elaborate or excessive ornateness of literary composition. In LModE, *purple* figuratively refers to deeply felt or extravagantly expressed emotions. *Purple patch* is extended to another metaphorical meaning of a notable period of time or specifically refers to a run of good luck or success.

(bloodstain): In EModE, the metonymic bases of blood and the colour purple are explicit, and the connotation of ‘bloody and tragic scenes of war’.

Success: In LModE, developing from the metaphorical meaning of Richness and Splendour, the colour purple and the metonymic bases of patches is metaphorically used to describe a notable period of time.

Pornographic Writing: In LModE, *purple* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Pornographic Writing to describe passages.

Politics: In LModE, *purple* is metaphorically used to refer a political party because its connotation of being a mixture of red and blue.

Anger: In LModE, the metonymic bases of face with the colour purple and the emotion of anger are explicit. It is ambiguous whether *purple* is literally or metaphorically used to describe the emotion of anger. Because the emotion of anger is explicit, the semantic highlight of *purple* is still the face colour. *Purple* is also metaphorically used to describe as a flash of anger independently of the metonymic basis of face.

Homosexuality: In LModE, *purple* is metaphorically used to refer to homosexuality probably because it is similar to lavender which is the symbolic colour of homosexuality.

(feminism): In LModE, *purple* has the connotation of feminism because *purple* stands for the royal blood in the veins of suffragettes.

Table 6.1 summarises the metaphorical meanings of *purple* this study found in four historical periods.

Table 6.1 Metaphorical meanings of *purple* in four historical periods

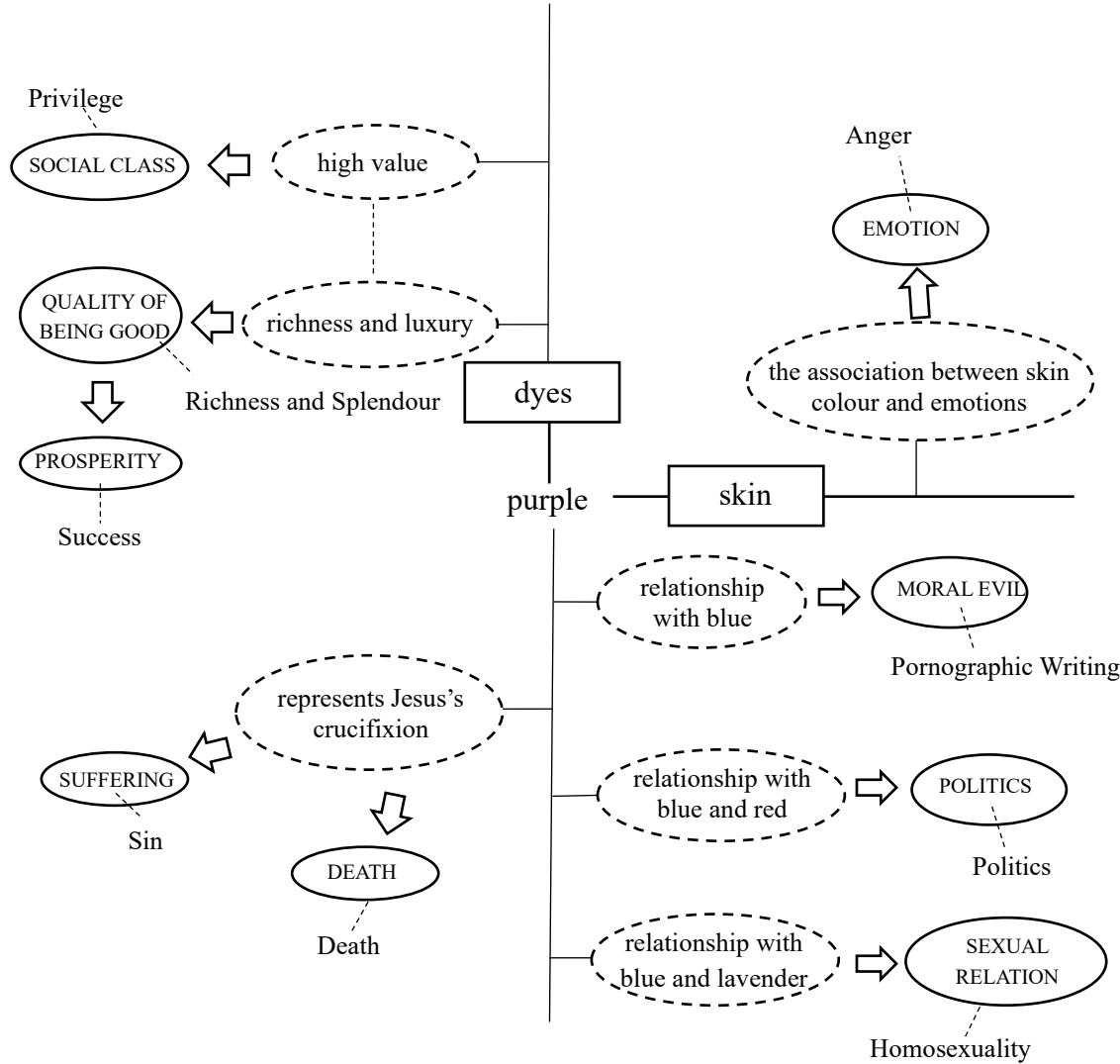
	Metaphorical meaning	Target domain	Occurrence in historical periods
1	Privilege	3A09 SOCIAL POSITION	(OE), (ME), EModE, LModE
2	(mourning)	2D01 EMOTION	(ME), (EModE), (LModE)
3	Sin	2D01 EMOTION	EModE
4	+Death	1B26 DEATH	EModE
5	Richness and Splendour	2C01 GOOD	EModE, LModE
6	(bloodstain)	1B26 DEATH	(EModE)
7	Success	1O16 PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS	LModE
8	Pornographic Writing	3M03 THE ARTS	LModE
9	Politics	3D03 POLITICS	LModE
10	+Anger	2D01 EMOTION	LModE
11	+Homosexuality	1I06 SEXUAL RELATIONS	LModE
12	+(feminism)	1B04 BIOLOGICAL SEX	(LModE)

As Table 6.1 shows, the present study finds *purple* has four metaphorical meanings in EModE (three are supported by the corpora), seven metaphorical meanings in LModE (six are found in the corpora). In OE, there is one connotation of high value (privilege), which continues to be found in ME. In ME, an emerging connotation of mourning are found, which continues to be found in EModE and LModE. In EModE, the connotation of high value develops into the metaphorical meaning of Privilege in SOCIAL POSITION. There are three emerging metaphorical meanings of Sin in EMOTION, Death in DEATH, and Richness and Splendour in GOOD, and one emerging connotation of bloodstain in DEATH which do not develop into a metaphorical meaning. In LModE, there are five emerging metaphorical

meanings of Success in PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS, Pornographic Writing in THE ARTS, Politics in POLITICS, Anger in EMOTION, Homosexuality in SEXUAL RELATIONS and one connotation of feminism in BIOLOGICAL SEX.

Based on the analysis of metaphorical meanings in sections 6.1.1 to 6.1.5 and their developments shown in Table 6.1, Figure 6.1 shows the course of the routes taken during the development of the metaphorical meanings:

Figure 6.1 Network of metaphorical meanings of purple



Combining the table and the figure, there are three developing processes of *purple's* metaphorical meanings. Firstly, the metonymic bases of purple dyes have the connotation of high value and the connotation of richness and luxury, which are generalised into the domains of SOCIAL CLASS and QUALITY OF BEING GOOD and develop into the metaphorical meanings of Privilege, Richness and Splendour. Richness and Splendour extends to the

domain of PROSPERITY and develops another metaphorical meaning of Success. The metonymic basis of skin has the connotation of association with emotions, which is generalised into the domain of EMOTION and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Anger. Secondly, *purple* has the connotation of the religious context of Jesus's crucifixion, which is generalised to SUFFERING and DEATH and develops into the metaphorical meanings of Sin and Death (partly). Thirdly, *purple*'s connotations of relationship with other colours are generalised to domains of MORAL EVIL, POLITICS and SEXUAL RELATION and develop into the metaphorical meanings of Pornographic Writing, Politics and Homosexuality.

6.2 Zi 紫

6.2.1 presents the etymological metonymy and cultural connotations of *zi*. 6.2.2, 6.2.3, 6.2.4 and 6.2.5 discuss the metaphorical meanings of *zi* in OC, MC, EModC and LModC respectively. 6.2.6 summarises the metaphorical meanings and the metaphorical development of *zi*.

6.2.1 Etymological metonymy and cultural connotations

According to *Shuowen*, *zi* is the colour of silk. It is defined as:

帛青赤色。(说文解字)

Silk in *qing* and *chi* (red) colour. (*Shuowen*)

There are two different explanations of *Shuowen*'s definition. For example, *Ziyuan* suggests the meaning of *zi* in relation to silk. It cites the definition from *Shuowen* and then explains that the original meaning of *zi* is the combination of blue and red. Differently, in another interpretation, Rong Yin¹¹ argues that *qing* in the definition refers to black:

穎容春秋釋例曰：火畏於水，以赤入於黑，故北間色紫也。(说文解字注)

Rong Ying *Chunqiu shili* says: Fire is extinguished by Water, using *chi* (red) enter *hei* (black), so northern integrated colour is *zi* (*Shuowen zhu*)

It uses the Wuxing Theory to explain the production of *zi*. Wuxing Theory is a fivefold conceptual scheme in traditional Chinese philosophy and Five Colours is a part of the Wuxing system (see 4.2.1). Despite the five standard colours, there are five integrated

¹¹ Rong Yin is a scholar in Eastern Han dynasty, who is the author of 10 volumes of *Chunqiu shili*.

colours that are mixed colours of pure colours: *qing* and *huang* are combined to *lv* ‘light green’, *chi* and *bai* are combined to *hong* ‘light red’, *huang* and *qing* are combined to *bi* ‘jade green’, *hei* and *chi* are combined to *zi* and *huang* and *hei* are combined to *liuhuang* ‘dark yellow’. The standard colours have prestigious status while the integrated colours have lower status. Thus, Rong Yin claims that *zi* is the colour combined *hei* and *chi*. Fire (which corresponds to *chi* ‘red’) is extinguished by Water (which corresponds to *hei* ‘black’). *Chi* enters *hei* producing the integrated colour *zi*.

Shiming has a different definition of the character of *zi* according to its pronunciation relating to *ci*, which refers to a mistake. Thus, *Shiming* explains that *zi* is a mistake because it is not a pure colour, so it is used to confuse people.

紫，疵也，非正色。五色之疵瑕，以惑人者也。（釋名）

Zi, mistake, not a pure colour. A mistake of five pure colours, and it is used to confuse people. (*Shiming*)

This definition accords with the thoughts of Confucianism regarding *purple* as the evil colour because it is easily confused with the pure and prestigious colour *red*. The definition ignores the nature of the colour and only focuses on its cultural explanation, which is unconvincing. It shows *zi* has the connotation of evil because *zi* is an integrated colour that has a lower status than the standard colours but it is similar to the standard colour *chi* and thus Confucians regard *zi* as an evil colour that threatens the status of *chi*.

Rong Yin’s explanation of *Shuowen*’s definition and *Shiming*’s definition are highly influenced by Wuxing theory. The present study agrees with the first explanation of *Shuowen*’s definition. That is, *zi* is the colour of dyeing silk, which is a mixed colour of blue and red. Wang (2017) claims *zi* (紫) derives from the *zicao* (茈草) (lit. ‘purple grass’) that is a kind of grass whose flowers and roots are purple, and the purple dye is yielded by this plant. The paper investigates the characters that refer to the purple colour in historical documentation. According to this study, *zi* (茈) of *zicao* (茈草) was firstly used to refer to the plant, and then *zi* (紫) occurred to refer to the colour purple and clothing which has been dyed purple. They were used at the same time but had different referents. Finally, *zi* (紫) totally replaced *zi* (茈). It is reasonable to assume that *zi* (茈) was originally used to refer to the plant. Then, *zicao* (茈草) was used as the dyeing material to colour clothing. Thus, *zi* (紫) was coined to refer to the dyeing colour and the coloured clothing. The

character inherited the pronunciation and part of the character of *zi* (此). In the end, *zi* (紫) was largely used and then replaced *zi* (此).

Some cultural connotations of *zi* originate from Chinese traditional astrology. For the ancient Chinese, the heavens ruled the world and held the destiny of all people. The laws and changes of natural phenomena or celestial bodies were closely related to the development of human destiny. Chinese astrology understood the will of supernatural power through the observation of celestial bodies such as the sun, the moon and the stars. Another aspect of Chinese astrology is linked to the system of ruling for the sake of ruling. After the Zhou dynasty the ruling class observed astronomical phenomena and understood their significance as a function of strengthening their ruling power. The patterns and phenomena shown by the heavens became the benchmarks of judgement by which rulers sought to act.

Taoism is highly associated with astrology because of its emphasis on nature. *Taiyi* was first mentioned in Taoist ancient books and records. From the philosophical perspective of Taoism, *Taiyi* is the origin of all things in the universe. Influenced by this view, ancient Chinese worship of the deity sometimes regards *Taiyi* as the highest god in the immortal system. In the Han dynasty, the order of superiority and inferiority of the ruling classes influenced the establishment of the order of superiority and inferiority in the divine world and also reflected the observation and interpretation of astronomical phenomena. With the profound influence of Taoism in the Han dynasty, *Taiyi* was regarded as more honourable than all the gods, and the *Taiyi* star was the most prestigious star which was the lord of *zigong* ‘purple palace’ (the most prestigious of the 28 constellations of traditional Chinese astronomy and astrology). *Huainanzi tianwenxun* which was written in the Han dynasty describes the structure of the heavenly realm, which consists of the Chinese constellation system. The *Taiweigong* (太微宫) is the palace of the Heavenly Emperor *Tianyi* (天乙), and the *Ziweigong* (紫微宫) is his residence (Qiaoben 2012: 10).

Therefore, the prestigious status of *zi* in Taoist culture is due to the name of *Ziweigong* also called *Ziweiyuan* and *Zigong*. According to the evidence from the corpus, *zi* appears in Chinese immortal systems and in all aspects of Taoist culture. For example:

- (326) 太微者，太一庭也。紫宫者，太一之居也。（西汉；淮南子；刘安）
Taiwei is the court of the Taiyi. The **zigong** (‘purple palace’) is the residence of the Taiyi. (Western Han Dynasty; *Huainanzi*; Liu, An)

(326) shows that *zigong* is the residence of *Taiyi*. *Zi* gradually occurs in all aspects of immortal systems and in Taoist culture. For example:

(327) 伏念《紫阁图》文，太一、黄帝皆得瑞以仙 [...] (东汉；全汉文)
Thus, read the text of the *zige* ('purple garret'), where *Taiyi* and *Huangdi* were both granted immortality... (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Quanhanwen*)

(328) 神光降集紫殿。(东汉；前汉纪；荀悦)
Divine light descends on the *zidian* ('purple palace'). (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Qianhanji*; Xun, Yue)

(327) shows that *zi* is used to describe the residence of *Taiyi* god and *Huangdi*. (328) shows that *zi* is also used to describe the palace of emperors. This is a correspondence of immortal systems, constellations of traditional Chinese astronomy and astrology, and ruling classes of mankind, and in *ziweiyuan* corresponds to the imperial palace. *Taiyi* god and star corresponds to emperors. *Ziweiyuan*, which is the residence of *Taiyi*, corresponds to the imperial palace, which is the residence of emperors. Thus, *zi* appears in many words denoting the imperial and imperial palace, representing the highest class.

Zi is used in the names of things related to Taoist culture and imperial things. For example, *Zihuang* (紫皇) refers to *Taiyi* god; *zifu* (紫府), *zigong* (紫宫), *zichen* (紫宸), *zitai* (紫台), *zique* (紫阙), *zifang* (紫房), *zige* (紫阁) refer to palaces and residence of gods and also of emperors; *zinishu* (紫泥书), *zinizhao* (紫泥诏) refer to the records of emperors, etc. These objects do not reflect the literal colour *zi*. Their names contain *zi* because of their association with Taoism and emperors. It is highly likely that the *zi* in *ziweigong* does not refer to the colour *zi* but the character *ci* (此), which has a similar pronunciation to *zi* meaning 'this/here'. Thus, the derivative use of *zi* in the phrases related to Taoism and emperors is not related to the colour *zi*. However, probably due to *zi*'s literal meaning of the colour *zi* and some rulers of certain dynasties' personal preference for the colour, *zi* still becomes the most important colour in Taoism, and is used in imperial things. This is shown in the use of the colour *zi* from the prestigious symbol in astrology and Taoism to the colour that is used in reality. For example, in the Han dynasty, when Emperor Wu of Han worshipped the god *Taiyi*, the ritual officers of the god wore purple and embroidered costumes to symbolise the heavenly emperor, *Taiyi* God, who resided in the *ziweiyuan*. In addition, the colour *zi* is broadly used in the elements of gods' names. For example, some gods appear with *ziyun* (紫云, 'purple cloud').

Therefore, in the political hierarchy context, *zi* has complex cultural connotations. According to the Five Element Theory, it is an integrated colour with a low status. Confucians even regard it as an evil colour. On the contrary, *zi* has a high status in astrology and Taoist culture and thus is often used for imperial things. Because of this complexity, *zi* is not used as the main colour of the royal garments or official uniforms in the ancient clothing regulations but it is used as the main colour of the waist accessory and ribbons of the high-ranking officials, which is discussed in detail in 6.2.2.1. *Zi*'s special status in Taoism also develops the connotations of auspiciousness and the supernatural, which develop into metaphorical meanings.

6.2.2 Old Chinese

Dacidian shows four metaphorical meanings of *zi* are shown in this period: Privilege, Evil, Auspiciousness and Luxury. CCL corpus provides evidence of the metaphorical meanings of Privilege, Evil, which are discussed in 6.2.2.1 and 6.2.2.2, but auspiciousness is a connotation of *zi* that does not develop into a metaphorical meaning in this period. It is discussed in 6.2.2.3.

6.2.2.1 Privilege

Similar to *purple* in English, *zi* refers to the colour purple and garments coloured by purple dyes. Also, just as *purple* in English represents upper classes (emperors, kings, cardinals etc.), *zi* in Chinese is also a prestigious colour used by high-ranking officials in antiquity. However, *purple* symbolises the highest privilege continuously because of the scarce and expensive shellfish dyes, while *zi* experiences a rising development and it is not the most highly valued colour when it symbolises the social and political hierarchy.

In the earliest period of China, *zi* was not a highly valued colour in the Shang and Zhou dynasties. The Zhou dynasty already formed its regulation of the clothing colour of emperors and officials, in which *zi* is not included. In the Spring and Autumn Period and Warring States Period, the centralisation of power declined and entered a phase of division in which various lords competed for supremacy. The rules of the Zhou dynasty regarding clothing colour were also gradually ignored, and the clothing regulation of political hierarchy became diverse. The lord of Qi (one of the strongest five countries in Spring and Autumn Period) chose *purple* as his formal gown colour according to his own aesthetic preference. For example:

- (329) 齐桓公好服紫，一国尽服紫。当是时也，五素不得一紫。（战国；韩非子）

Duke huan of Qi was so fond of **zi** that the whole country was dressed in **zi**. At that time, the price of five white garments was not able to buy one **zi** garment. (Warring States Period; *Hanfeizi*)

- (330) [...] 昔紫衣贱服，犹化齐风 [...]（六朝；全梁文）

In the old days, the **zi** clothing was cheap, but was still changed to expensive clothing because of Qi (the Six Dynasty; *Quanliangwen*)

- (331) 衣冠紫綬，自鲁桓公始也。（战国；礼记 玉藻第十三）

Using **zi** colour in lower part of the crown band is from Duke Yuan of Lu. (Warring States Period; *Liji yuzaodishisan*)

(329) shows that as the lord of *Qi* liked *zi*, it became popular in the whole state of *Qi*. (330) indicates that *zi* clothing was cheap but became expensive after it gained popularity in *Qi*. *Lu* (another strong country in the Spring and Autumn Period) also adored *zi*. (331) shows that Duke Yuan of *Lu* used *zi* as the colour of his crown band, showing that the colour of *zi* was appreciated by Lords of states. There was a penalty that made it a capital offence for anyone other than the Lord to wear purple clothing. This shows that *zi* was indeed an honourable colour during the Spring and Autumn Period. In the following Qin dynasty, although the colour *hei* (black) was adored most and *zi* was still not used in the clothing colour of the upper classes in the hierarchy, Qin inherited the view that *zi* was a prestigious colour. Thus, *zi* was used for high-ranking officials in the waist accessory and ribbon regulation, so *zi* metaphorically refers to a prominent social class. Its following Han dynasty inherited the waist accessory and ribbon regulation of using *zi* for high-ranking officials, but *zi* clothing was worn by lower classes in the hierarchy. For example:

- (332) 金印紫绶。位上卿。（东汉；前汉纪；荀悦）

Golden seal and **zi** ribbon symbolise the ministers of the court. (Eastern Dynasty; *Qianhanji*; Xun, Yue)

- (333) 怀银紵紫，未必稷、契之才（东汉；论衡；王充）

Huaiyinshuzi (lit. 'having silvery (seal) and *zi* (ribbon)'), maybe not a talented person for governing the society. (Eastern Dynasty; *Lunheng*; Wang, Chong)

- (334) 又安得青紫？（东汉；全汉文）

Then how to gain **qingzi** (high official ranking)? (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Quanhanwen*)

(332) describes the regulation of giving the ministers of the court a golden seal and *zi* ribbon. Although *zi* is used literally here, it shows *zi*'s symbolic meaning of Privilege.

(333) and (334) show that the phrases *huaiyinshuzi* and *qingzi* metaphorically refer to prestigious official and social status.

(335) 有道之家，其去者得封，为鬼之尊者，名为地灵祇，亦得带紫艾青黄。（东汉：太平经）

Those who attain the Tao are given the title. Noble figure of ghost is called Dilingqi, who can also wear the **zi** ribbon. (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Taipingjing*)

In (335), the wearing of *zi* ribbon to symbolise privileged class is broadened to the immortal world, which means that the supernatural figures such as the ghost also have a hierarchy and *zi* is the distinguishing colour of the privileged class.

The development of Privilege starts from the metonymic bases of *zi* dyes used on *zi* ribbons which has the connotation of representing high-ranking officials in Chinese ancient waist accessory and ribbon regulation. The reasons why *zi* becomes a prestigious colour and is chosen to be used by high-ranking officials are complex. According to the evidence in CCL corpus, the direct reason is that *zi* is favoured by the Lord of Qi and Lord of Lu. Some scholars assumed that *zi* is highly valued because the *zi* fabrics were expensive due to the complicated dyeing process. *Zicao* is difficult to dissolve in water, its colour is not stable in the air, and the heat causes it to become black (Sun 2000: 26). However, if that is the reason, *zi* fabrics should be expensive from the outset, but before *zi* was favoured by the lord of Qi, *zi* clothes were cheap. During the very long time when the *zi* dyeing process was not significantly changed, *zi* went from a low to a higher status. Thus, the difficulty of the *zicao* dyeing process is not the reason, at least the main reason, for the rising status of *zi*. Another possible reason is that *zi* was highly valued by Taoism because of the name *Ziweigong*, as mentioned in 6.2.1.

6.2.2.2 Evil

In Spring and Autumn Period and Warring States Period, there is an opposite view of *zi* that regards it as an evil colour. This view is mainly held by Confucianism. For example:

(336) 子曰：恶紫之夺朱也，恶郑声之乱雅乐也，恶利口之覆邦家者。（春秋：论语）

Confucius said, 'I hate the **zi** that takes away the chi (red), I hate the Zheng sound that disrupts the elegant music, and I hate the sharp tongue that covers the state. (Spring and Autumn Period; *Lunyu*)

(336) shows that the reason why Confucianism hates *zi* is that it can take away the status of *chi*. Confucianism highly regards the hierarchy, and thus *chi* as a high-valued pure colour and one of the colours of Five Elements should not be threatened. However, *zi* is close to red and it can easily take away people's attention. It is also loved by the lord of Qi as well as many people, so *zi* as a mixed colour that is in the low status and threatens the status of *chi* that is a pure colour and in high status, which is unbearable to Confucianism. After the Han dynasty, Confucianism is most revered in China. *Zi* would be expected to be suppressed, as Confucianism hates it.

(337) [...] 世人不悟，是非不定，紫失（[sic] 朱）杂厕，瓦玉集糅。（东汉；论衡；王充）

The world does not understand; right and wrong are uncertain; **zi** and zhu (vermilion) are mixed; tile and jade are mixed. (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Lunheng*; Wang, Chong)

(338) [...] 用延为吏，以紫乱朱，大妨王命。（东汉；风俗通义）

Making Yan an official, yiziluanzhu (lit. 'replacing zhu with zi', replacing goodness with evil), seriously hindered the king's orders. (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Fengsutongyi*)

In (337) and (338), when *zi* is used together with *zhu*, *zi* means evil and *zhu* means good. In (337), 'zi and zhu are mixed' and 'tile and jade are mixed' are both metaphorically used to express the meaning of 'right and wrong are uncertain'. In (338), the phrase of *yiziluanzhu* is a metaphorical use of *zi*. In this sentence, *zi* does not refer to the colour but refers to evil.

6.2.2.3 (auspiciousness)

As *zi* is a colour that symbolises immortal spirits in Taoist culture, the gods in Taoism are often accompanied by *zi* elements. In this sense, *zi* is used as a colour term. *Ziyun* (purple clouds) are among the immortal clouds erected by the supreme deity when travelling in Taoism. The purple clouds have thus become a symbol of good fortune, often appearing alongside the immortal crane (which is a symbol of auspiciousness in Chinese mythology) in many ancient books and records. Similar Taoist auspicious signs include terms such as *ziyan* (purple smoke), *ziguang* (purple light), *ziqu* (purple aura) and *ziwu* (purple mist). The representative of Taoism, Laozi, was recorded as appearing accompanied by *ziqu*:

(339) 老子西遊，關令尹喜望見其有紫氣浮關，而老子果乘青牛而過。

(汉；列仙传；刘向)

When Laozi travelled to the west, Yin Xi, the magistrate of Guan, saw a *ziqu* ('zi aura') floating over the pass, and Laozi passed by on a green bull.
(Han Dynasty; *Liexianzhuan*; Liu, Xiang)

(340) 况大宋表祥唐虞，受终素德，山龙启符，金玉显瑞，异采腾於轸墟，紫烟蔼於邦甸 [...] (六朝；全刘宋文)

In addition, the Song dynasty is blessed with a great number of virtues; the mountain dragon is enlightened; the gold and jade show auspiciousness; a strange glow rises from the hills; *ziyan* ('zi smoke') rises from the countryside [...] (the Six Dynasties; *Quanliu Songwen*)

(339) recorded that when Laozi crossed the *Hanguan*, Xi Yin saw *ziqu* ('purple aura') coming from the east and knew that a sage was about to cross the pass. Sure enough, Laozi came on a green bull. Although in this sentence, *zi* is used in a literal meaning, it later becomes a metaphor for auspicious signs. (340) depicts scenery of auspiciousness and *ziyan* is an important element in it, indicating *zi*'s association with auspiciousness.

6.2.3 Middle Chinese

Privilege and Evil continue to be used in this period as in OC. Privilege has developed so it is discussed in 6.2.3.1, while Evil is used in the same way as in OC so it is not discussed below. The connotation of auspiciousness develops into a metaphorical meaning and it is discussed with another emerging metaphorical meaning of Supernatural together in 6.2.3.2 because they are related.

6.2.3.1 Privilege

In this period, the Sui dynasty inherits using *zi* for the upper hierarchy in the waist accessory and ribbon regulation. *Zi* is also occasionally used in emperors' clothing and decorations of officials' uniforms. The Sui dynasty uses *zi* in officials' uniforms, which is influenced by the aesthetic preference of *zi* among northern ethnic groups. In the Tang dynasty, *zi* continues to be used in the waist accessory and ribbon regulation to distinguish high-ranking officials. For example:

(341) 元忠初加拜命，授紫绶，臣以郎官拜贺。(唐；大唐新语)

At the beginning of Yuan Zhong's term of office, he was awarded the *zishou* ('zi ribbon'), and I congratulated him with the title of Minister.
(Tang Dynasty; *Datangxinyu*)

(342) [...] 於是三品以上服紫 [...] (北宋；册府元龟)

[...] In this case, the third grade of officials and above were dressed in **zi**
 [...] (Northern Song Dynasty; *Cefuyuangui*)

In (341), it shows that using *zi* for high-ranking officials in the waist accessory and ribbon regulation is inherited from Qin and Han dynasties. Compared to the previous dynasties, Song uses more *zi* in the clothing colour of social and political hierarchy. This is because of the influence of thriving Taoism that adores *zi*. (342) shows that *zi* is regulated as the clothing colour of high-ranking officials.

(343) [...] 不肯师于常僧也。后入京，为文章供奉，赐**紫**。（北宋；太平广记）

He was not willing to learn from the regular monks. Later, when he entered the capital, he contributed to the salary of an article and was rewarded with **zi**. (Northern Song Dynasty; *Taipingguangji*)

(344) [...] 奏荐僧尼道士**紫**衣师号 [...] （北宋；册府元龟）

[...] the monks, nuns, Taoists and priests will be appointed to the title of **ziyi** (lit. *zi* garment) [...] (Northern Song Dynasty; *Cefuyuangui*)

(343) and (344) show that *zi* is broadened to refer to other prestigious people like Buddhist monks and Taoist priests. This shows that *zi*'s metaphorical meaning of Privilege is developed.

(345) [...] 便许堂纵拖**紫**腰金。（北宋；册府元龟）

[...] And he was then allowed to *tuoziyaojin* ('drag *zi* and wear *jin*', drag purple ribbon and wear golden seal) in the hall. (Northern Song Dynasty; *Cefuyuangui*)

(346) 皆封侯，弄以金**紫**。（六朝；三国志）

They were all made marquises, and were given **jinzi** ('golden and *zi*', high ranks). (the Six Dynasties; *Sanguozhi*)

In (345) and (346), the phrases *tuojinyaozi* and *jinzi* generally refer to high social and political status as (331) and (332), indicating that *zi* has fully developed its metaphorical meaning of Privilege.

6.2.3.2 Auspiciousness, Supernatural

As 6.2.2.3 shows, *zi* has become a colour that symbolises immortal spirits that appear in all aspects of Taoist culture. Gods in Taoism are often accompanied by *zi* elements. In addition, as example (339) in 6.2.2.3 shows, a *ziqu* (purple aura) predicts the arrival of the

sage Laozi, which is a metaphor for auspicious signs. In this period, *ziqu* is used in the metaphorical meaning of Auspiciousness. For example:

- (347) 若寺紫气充庭。(北宋; 册府元龟)
This temple's *ziqu* fills the courtyard. (Northern Song Dynasty;
Cefuyuangui)

Zi originally refers to astrology, and is then symbolic of the immortal spirits that appear in all aspects of Taoist culture. For example:

- (348) 因栖阳平化，为妖人扶持，上有紫气，乃聚众举事而败，妖辈星散，而皓独罹其祸。(北宋; 太平广记)
[...] was supported by a demon and had a *ziqu* above him, so he gathered a crowd and defeated them. (Northern Song Dynasty; *Taipingguangji*)

6.2.4 Early Modern Chinese

Privilege, Evil, and Auspiciousness continue to be used in this period. They are used the same way as in the previous periods so they are not discussed. There is an emerging connotation of beauty and prosperity, which is discussed in 6.2.4.1.

6.2.4.1 (beauty and prosperity)

Chaziyanhong is a commonly used phrase to describe the variety of flowers, and colourful and beautiful scenery. For example:

- (349) 原来姹紫嫣红开遍，似这般都付与断井颓垣。(清; 红楼梦; 曹雪芹, 高鹗)
The original *chaziyanhong* ('beautiful zi and brilliant red', beautiful and prosperous scene) all over disappears like broken wells and decrepit walls. (Qing Dynasty; *Honglouloumeng*; Cao, Xueqin, Gao, E)

In (349), *chaziyanhong* is literally used but it has the implication of beautiful and prosperous scene of the past time.

6.2.5 Late Modern Chinese

In this period, Privilege, Auspiciousness and Supernatural continue to be used. Privilege is used the same as in the previous periods, so it is not discussed, while Auspiciousness and Supernatural see some development in this period so they are discussed in 6.2.5.1. There

are two emerging metaphorical meanings Beauty and Prosperity, Fame, and a connotation of anger in this period, which are discussed in 6.2.5.2, 6.2.5.3 and 6.2.5.4.

6.2.5.1 Auspiciousness, Supernatural

Ziqidonglai derives from the ancient records of Laozi, which is discussed in 6.2.2.4.

Ziqidonglai means that there is a sage coming from the east. This is later developed to a metaphor for Auspiciousness. In LModC, this metaphorical meaning is mainly expressed by the phrase *ziqidonglai*. For example:

- (350) 王光英说，这象征着紫气东来。(1993；报刊 作家文摘)
Wang Guangying said that this symbolised *ziqidonglai* (lit. ‘zi aura coming from the east’). (1993; Newspaper *Zuojiawenzhai*)

The metaphorical meaning of Supernatural continues to be used in this period, as in MC. In this period, *zi* not only refers to the symbol of the immortal spirits of Taoist culture but also to all supernatural power in Chinese culture. For example:

- (351) [...] 金星之精，坠于终南山圭峰之西，化为一块白石，状如美玉，时常有紫气笼罩其上。(民国；上古秘史)
[...] The essence of the golden star fell to the west of Guifeng on Mount Zhongnan and was transformed into a white stone, shaped like a beautiful jade, on which *ziqu* (‘zi aura’) often covers it. (Republic of China; *Shanggumishi*)
- (352) [...] 狐仙信仰在民间最为流行，而且起源很早。汉魏时代，狐仙多称“阿紫”，且是女性。(当代；中国古代文化史)
The belief in fox fairies is the most popular among the people and has an early origin. During the Han and Wei dynasties, fox fairies were mostly known as ‘A *Zi*’ and were female. (Contemporary; *Zhongguogudaiwenhuashi*)

(351) and (352) show that the supernatural power is described as *zi*, either accompanied by purple elements or named as *zi*.

6.2.5.2 Beauty and Prosperity

Zi, as the colour of beautiful flowers, develops the metaphorical meaning of Beauty and prosperity. For instance:

- (353) 这时的雪窦山上，正是山花烂漫季节，姹紫嫣红，遍地若锦。(当代；蒋氏家族全传)

This is the time of year when the flowers are in full bloom on Mount Xuedou; **chaziyanhong** (lit. ‘beautiful zi and brilliant red’); all over the land. (Contemporary; *Jiangsjijiazuanzhuan*)

- (354) 大集后妃公主命妇，在玉烛殿上列座欢宴，一时粉白黛绿，**姹紫嫣红**。（民国；隋代宫闱史）

The princesses and concubines were seated in the Palace for the feast. They were all dressed up, **chaziyanhong**. (Republic of China; *Suidaigongweishi*)

- (355) 综观百年中国，魅力女人辈出。她们或优雅，或知性，或妩媚，或练达……千姿百态，**姹紫嫣红**。（当代；修炼魅力女人；张晓梅）

Looking at China over the past hundred years, there have been many attractive women. They are elegant, sensual, feminine or sophisticated... in different poses and with different expressions; and **chaziyanhong**. (Contemporary; *Xiulianmeilinvren*; Zhang, Xiaomei)

- (356) 安徽省文化部门注重弘扬时代主旋律，连续三年每年创作一部重头戏，使安徽的文艺舞台呈现出**姹紫嫣红**、积极向上的景象。（1994；报刊 人民日报）

The cultural sector of Anhui Province focuses on promoting the main theme of the times, creating a major play each year for three consecutive years, making the literary stage in Anhui a **chaziyanhong** and positive scene. (1994; Newspaper *Renminribao*)

In (353), *chaziyanhong* is literally used to refer to flowers, especially describing the colourfulness and beauty of flowers. Based on the metonymy of beautiful flowers, (354) and (355) show that *chaziyanhong* is figuratively used to refer to beauties, as beauties are compared to flowers. In addition, (356) shows that *chaziyanhong* is metaphorically used to describe prosperous scenes. This is also because of *zi*’s reference to flowers.

6.2.5.3 Fame

Zi develops the metaphorical meaning Fame in this period. For example:

- (357) 尚未**大红大紫**的耀华则有自己的打算（1994；报刊精选）

Yao Hua, who has yet to become **dahongdazi** (lit. ‘very red and very zi’), has his own plans (1994; Newspaper Selection)

- (358) 特别是绿原，他的诗过去在重庆时真是**红得发紫**。（1955；报刊 人民日报）

Lvyuan, in particular, whose poems used to be **hongdefazi** (lit. ‘be hong enough and become zi’, a real hit) in Chongqing. (1955; Newspaper *Renminribao*)

In Chinese, *hong* (red) is used to describe someone famous in the phrases *zouhong* (become famous) and *hongren* (famous people). *Zi*, which is regarded as a deeper hue than *hong*, is used together with *hong* to describe a greater fame of a person. In (357), *dahongdazi* means very famous. Bright *hong* and *zi* are very eye-catching colours, and this is mapped onto famous people who gain the attention of the public. In (358), *zi* is regarded as a deeper shade than *hong*, which is used to describe a greater fame in the phrase *hongdefazi*. Thus, *zi* together with *hong* develops the metaphorical meaning of Fame.

6.2.5.4 (anger)

Zi is described as the skin colour of someone who is in the grip of the intense emotion of anger. For example:

- (359) 头天亮市局何副局长来了，发了好大好大一顿脾气。嘴唇全紫了。
(1997; 报刊作家文摘)

The deputy director of the municipal bureau, He, came and threw a big tantrum. Her/his lips were all **zi**. (1997; Newspaper *Zuojiawenzhai*)

- (360) 每次训练，都痛得直噁，噁得嘴唇发紫 (1994; 报刊精选)

Every time I trained, it hurt so much, and I was so angry that my lips turned **zi** (1994; Newspaper Selection)

- (361) 赵惠文王气得脸都发紫了。(当代; 中华上下五千年)

King Huiwen of Zhao was so angry that his face turned **zi**.
(Contemporary; *Zhonghuashangxiawuqiannian*)

- (362) 面对一大群莫名其妙的美国同学，宋美龄挥舞着白皙的小拳头，涨紫着脸高喊：“打倒--龙广”“打倒皇帝！”(当代; 宋氏家族全传)

Faced with a large group of inexplicable American students, Meiling Song waved her small white fists and shouted with a **zi** face: ‘Down with - Long Guang’ ‘Down with the Emperor!’ (Contemporary; *Songshijiazuquanzhuan*)

- (363) 田径队的女教练肖丽暗暗着急起来，眼前奔跑着的钟焕娣，不见了往日那种轻松的神态。发紫的嘴唇，惨白的脸庞，连脖子、耳朵都是一片吓人的惨白。(1994; 报刊精选)

The female coach of the track and field team, Li Xiao, was secretly anxious, and Huan Di Zhong, who was running in front of her, was missing that relaxed demeanor of old. **Zi** lips, a miserable white face, even the neck and ears are a frightening white. (1994; Newspaper Selection)

In (359), (360), (361) and (362), when people are extremely angry, their lips or complexion become *zi*. (363) shows that other intense emotions such as nervousness are also

accompanied by *zi* lips or complexion. It seems that these sentences use *zi* in the literal meaning. The present study does not find any occurrence of *zi* in this sense that does not refer to the face or the lips, so it is assumed that *zi* does not fully develop the metaphorical meaning of Anger. Thus, *zi* in the title is bracketed.

6.2.6 Summary

The diachronic investigation of each metaphorical sense reveals different stages of their metaphorical development:

Privilege: In OC, the metonymic basis of ribbon and the colour *zi* are explicit, and the connotation of ‘high ranking status’ is implied by the colour. *Zi* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Privilege to describe social status and a person. In MC and EModC, High-ranking Status in Hierarchy continues to be used.

Evil: In OC, the colour *zi* and the colour *chi* are explicit to express the connotation of evil and goodness in cultural contexts. They are also metaphorically used to refer to right and wrong. This metaphorical meaning continues to be used in MC and EModC

Auspiciousness: In OC, *zi* has the connotation of auspiciousness in Taoist culture. In MC and EModC, this connotation develops into a metaphorical meaning. In LModC, *zqidonglai* are together metaphorically used to express Auspiciousness.

Supernatural: In OC, *zi* has the connotation of referring to immortal spirits in Taoist culture. In MC, *zi* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Supernatural. In EModC and LModC, this metaphorical meaning continues to be used.

Beauty and Prosperity: In EModC, the metonymic bases of plants and the colour *zi* are explicit, and the connotation of ‘beautiful and prosperous scene’ is implied by the colour. In LModC, they are together metaphorically used to describe the beauty of women or the prosperous scene.

Fame: In LModC, *zi* together with *hong* has the connotation of attraction because of the brightness of the colours. *Zi* and *hong* are together metaphorically used to express the metaphorical meaning of Fame to describe people or things.

(*anger*): In LModC, it is ambiguous whether *zi* is literally or metaphorically used to describe the emotion of anger. Because the emotion of anger is explicit, the semantic highlight of *zi* is still the literal meaning, so it is a connotation.

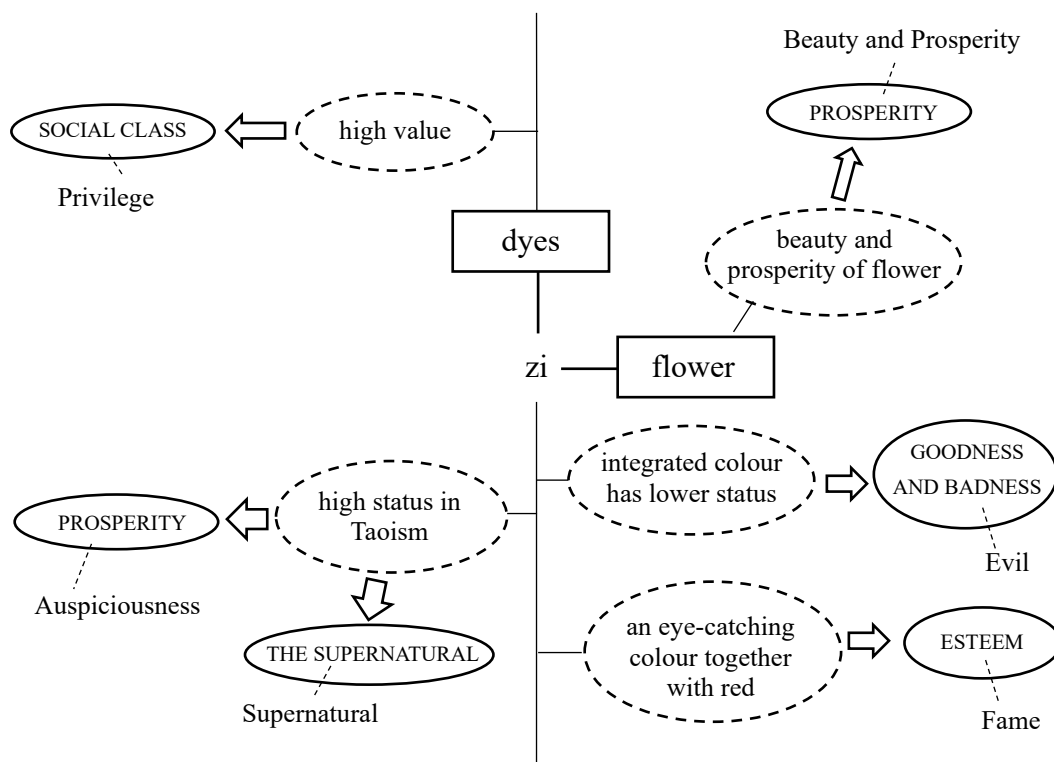
Table 6.2 summarises the metaphorical meanings of *zi* this study found in four historical periods.

Table 6.2 Summary of metaphorical meanings of *zi* in four historical periods

	Metaphorical meaning	Target domain	Occurrence in historical periods
1	Privilege	3A09 SOCIAL POSITION	OC, MC, EModC
2	Evil	2C02 BAD	OC, MC, EModC
3	Auspiciousness	1O16 PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS	(OC), MC, EModC, LModC
4	Supernatural	1Q01 SUPERNATURAL	MC, EModC, LModC
5	Beauty and Prosperity	1O16 PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS	(EModC), LModC
6	Fame	2B07 ESTEEM	LModC
7	(<i>anger</i>)	2D01 EMOTION	(LModC)

As Table 6.2 shows, the present study finds *zi* has two metaphorical meanings in OC, four in MC, four in EModC and four in LModC. In OC, *zi* has two metaphorical meanings of Privilege in SOCIAL POSITION and Evil in BAD, which continue to be used in EModC and LModC. One connotation of auspiciousness is developed. In MC, the connotation of auspiciousness develops into the metaphorical meaning of Auspiciousness in PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS. There is one emerging metaphorical meaning of Supernatural in SUPERNATURAL. In EModC, one connotation of beauty and prosperity is developed. In LModC, the connotation of beauty and prosperity of flower develops into the metaphorical meaning of Beauty and Prosperity in PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS. *Zi* develops one new metaphorical meaning of Fame in ESTEEM and one connotation of anger in EMOTION.

Based on the analysis of metaphorical meanings in sections 6.2.1 to 6.2.5 and their developments shown in Table 6.2, Figure 6.2 shows the course of the routes taken during the development of the metaphorical meanings:

Figure 6.2 Network of metaphorical meanings of *zi*

There are three kinds of motivations for the metaphorical meanings. Firstly, the metonymic bases of purple dyes have the connotation of high value, which is generalised into SOCIAL CLASS and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Privilege. The metonymic basis of flower has the connotation of beauty and prosperity of flower, which is generalised to PROSPERITY and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Beauty and Prosperity. Secondly, *zi*'s cultural connotation of integrated colour with low status is generalised into GOODNESS AND BADNESS and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Evil. The cultural connotation of high status in Taoist culture is generalised into PROSPERITY and THE SUPERNATURAL and develops into the metaphorical meanings of Auspiciousness and Supernatural. Thirdly, *zi*'s connotation of an eye-catching colour together with red is generalised to ESTEEM and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Fame.

6.3 Comparison of *purple* and *zi*

Table 6.3 shows the differences and similarities between the metaphorical meanings of *purple* and *zi*.

Table 6.3 Comparison of metaphorical meanings between *purple* and *zi*

Target domain	Source domain	Metaphorical meaning	Motivation
1B26 DEATH	<i>purple</i>	Death	metonymic basis of blood or religious factors
1I06 SEXUAL RELATIONS	<i>purple</i>	Homosexuality	relationship with lavender
1O16 PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS	<i>purple</i>	Success	metonymic bases of dyes
1O16 PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS	<i>zi</i>	Auspiciousness	religious factors
1O16 PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS	<i>zi</i>	Beauty and Prosperity	metonymic basis of flower
1Q01 SUPERNATURAL	<i>zi</i>	Supernatural	religious factors
2B07 ESTEEM	<i>zi</i>	Fame	relationship with red
2C01 GOOD	<i>purple</i>	Richness and Splendour	metonymic bases of dyes
2C02 BAD	<i>zi</i>	Evil	cultural values
2D01 EMOTION	<i>purple</i>	Sin	religious factors
2D01 EMOTION	<i>purple, (zi)</i>	Anger	metonymic basis of skin
3A08 SOCIAL ATTITUDES	<i>purple</i>	Feminism	metonymic basis of blood
3A09 SOCIAL POSITION	<i>purple, zi</i>	Privilege	metonymic bases of dyes
3D03 POLITICS	<i>purple</i>	Politics	relationship with red and blue
3M03 THE ARTS	<i>purple</i>	Pornographic Writing	relationship with blue

As Table 6.3 shows, *purple* and *zi* share one metaphorical meaning Privilege in SOCIAL POSITION. In addition, *purple* has a metaphorical meaning of Anger and *zi* has a connotation of anger. If the connotation of anger of *zi* is fully developed, there will be another similarity. The similarity of Privilege is motivated by the similar metonymic bases of purple/*zi* dyes, which have the same connotation of high value but due to different human experiences. *Purple* develops Privilege due to the property of the purple dye materials. Whelk dye is very expensive due to the large amount of labour and raw materials consumed, so it becomes the symbol of privileged classes that possess the best resources in society. Conversely, *zi* develops the meaning of Privilege mainly due to two cultural factors: one is the privileged classes' personal fondness for the colour *zi* and the other is that *zi* is the highly valued colour in Taoism. It is not developed because of the difficulty of the dyeing process as *purple* (or at least not the main reason). One possible reason is that *zi* dyes mainly made from *zicao* ('*zi* grass') may not be that difficult to produce and make *zi* have connotation of high value. The bright and eye-attracting characteristics of *purple* and *zi* in the shared physiological aspect may also be one of the motivations that makes purple dyes become popular and highly valued. The connotation is generalised into the metaphorical meaning of Privilege in SOCIAL POSITION, motivated by the generic conceptualisation of CLOTHES REPRESENT SOCIAL HIERARCHY. Clothes is often

used to represent the social classes across cultures (though the developments and influencing factors are different). *Purple* and *zi* with the connotation of high value are both used to represent the power of the privileged class.

The metonymic basis of skin motivates the metaphorical meaning of emotion because emotions are often accompanied by a salient complexion. This is the common observation of English and Chinese-speaking communities. Thus, *purple* develops the metaphorical meaning of Anger, and *zi* also shows the potential of developing this metaphorical meaning. Different metonymic bases tend to motivate different metaphorical meanings. For example, the culturally specific metonymic bases of blood and flower motivate *purple* and *zi* to develop different metaphorical meanings, which are Death and Feminism of *purple*, Beauty and Prosperity of *zi*.

Purple and *zi* have culturally specific connotations that develop different metaphorical meanings. For *purple*, the religious factor plays an important role in the development of the connotation of mourning and the metaphorical meaning of Sin. For *zi*, traditional astrology and Taoism play an important role in the development of Auspiciousness and Supernatural. Since the cultural factors are unique in communities, many different metaphorical meanings emerge.

Purple and *zi* develop metaphorical meanings motivated by relationship with other colours because they are mixed colours and are often regarded as a colour close to red or blue. *Purple* develops the metaphorical meaning of Homosexuality, Pornographic Writing, Politics, and *zi* develops the metaphorical meaning of Fame. It is shown although these metaphorical senses are both motivated by the association with red or/and blue, they tend to be culturally specific.

6.4 *Gold(en)*

6.4.1 presents the etymological metonymy and cultural connotations of *gold(en)*. 6.4.2 and 6.4.3 show the metaphorical senses in EModE and LModE. Each section begins with a summary of metaphorical meanings of *gold(en)* shown in OED, HTE and MM, which is examined and supplemented by the corpora. Then every metaphorical meaning in the period is discussed. 6.4.4 summarises the metaphorical meanings and the metaphorical development of *gold(en)*.

6.4.1 Etymological metonymy and cultural connotations

OED indicates the word *gold* is inherited from Germanic that traces back to Indo-European base referring to the yellow precious metal gold. OED does not inform that the word *gold* referring to the precious metal is associated with connotations of wealth, beauty, rareness and preciousness, and the associations are widespread among Germanic languages. This study suggests English *gold* has the connotations of preciousness is because it is regarded as a valuable possession and employed as currency in Old English (*gold* NOUN¹ & ADJECTIVE, NOUN, 2.a.). According to OED, it has two main figurative uses. One is to refer to something beautiful, rare and precious like gold. ‘Of gold’ refers to something of the highest and purest quality (NOUN 5.a.). The other is something desired or valued or regarded as the best of its kind (NOUN 5.b.). From Old English, *gold* was also used to refer to the metal’s colour, which is sometimes merged with the figurative use of the term for the metal gold referring to wealth and preciousness in poetic and literary language (*gold*, NOUN¹ and ADJECTIVE, NOUN 4.). This also shows that a complication in exploring the metaphorical meanings of *gold(en)* is distinguishing them from the metaphorical meanings of the noun *gold*.

Golden is used as an adjective that refers to the colour of gold in ME (golden ADJECTIVE & NOUN I.2.a.). OED also demonstrates that *golden* is used to describe the colour of a period of time or a season which is characterised by sunshine (golden ADJECTIVE & NOUN I.2.b.). *Golden* in this sense has additional implications of happiness or well-being, which may develop into the metaphorical meaning of a period of time that is notable for prosperity, good fortune or success (golden ADJECTIVE II.7.).

Most of the metaphorical meanings of *gold/golden* provided by OED, HTE and MM are from the noun *gold* rather than the colour, developing from the connotations of high value, quality or significance. It is worth noting that the metaphorical meanings of Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity of *golden* are probably from the colour term *gold(en)* rather than the noun *gold*. *Golden* describes a period of time or a season, etc., characterised by gold or yellow hues because golden is the colour of sunshine. The brightness and warmth of sunshine give it an additional implication of happiness or well-being. With the metonymic basis of sunshine, it is clear this sense is from the colour term. Common expressions include *golden world*, *golden age*, *golden era*, *golden times*, *golden hours*, *golden days*. However, it is also possible that this metaphorical meaning derives from the noun *gold*. A piece of strong evidence is that in addition to the *golden age*, English also has

the expression *silver age*, which implies that the *golden* in the *golden age* is the metal gold. It might also be a re-interpretation from the colour term to the noun *gold*. Therefore, it is difficult to distinguish whether this metaphorical meaning derives from the colour term *golden* or the metal gold or both. In this study, it is assumed that *golden*'s metaphorical meaning of Time of Happiness and Well-being is based on the colour term with a metonymy of sunshine rather than the metal gold because comparing the metonymies of sunshine and metal gold, the former is more likely to have the implication of happiness and well-being while the latter is more likely to have the implication of worthiness and preciousness.

In conclusion, among the figurative meanings of *gold* and *golden* provided by OED, HTE and MM, there is only one metaphorical meaning from the colour term *gold(en)* rather than the metal gold, which is Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity.

6.4.2 Early Modern English

OED, HTE and MM show two emerging metaphorical meanings of Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity and Precious Language in this period.

6.4.2.1 Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity

Corpora show evidence of this metaphorical meaning:

(364) It is I, I that am the credit of the court, noble prince; and if thou would by proclamation or patent create me overseer of all the tailors in thy dominions, then, then the **golden** days should appear again; bread should be cheaper, fools should have more wit; knaves more honesty, and beggars more money. (ARCHER 2019; 1628; Act II, if. The Lover's Melancholy. In 'Tis Pity She's a Whore and other plays; Ford, John)

(365) That time in deed might be called the **golden** age, and the blessed land, where the prince loved so well his subjects, and the subjects so much obeyed their prince. (EEBO V3; 1568; The dial of princes; Guevara, Antonio de)

(366) Thus lived our Fathers in the **golden** age, They spent in woods and caves their pilgrimage. (EEBO V3; 1630; Three decads of diuine meditations; Ross, Alexander)

(364) shows that *golden days* means a prosperous and happy world where people have more food, wit, virtues and money. In (365) and (366), *golden age* indicates a period of time of happiness, well-being and prosperity.

6.4.2.2 Precious Language

Corpora provides an example showing *golden* has a metaphorical meaning of Precious Language:

(367) To this very purpose, for confirming the truth hereof, and to keepe a continuall remembrance of this point; these three verses of Horace were worthy to be written in letters of **gold**, and to be imprinted in the memorie of every one who is desirous to get the best learning: for so they would indeede prove **golden** verses, and make undoubtedly **golden** times; (EEBO V3; 1612; Ludus literarius: or, the grammar schoole; Brinsley, John)

The Precious Language develops from the connotation of the preciousness of the metal gold, which should not be the metaphorical meaning of the colour term. However, as (367) shows, manuscripts sometimes use gold pigment, so the letters are in gold colour. The sentence then shows the phrase *golden verse* with a metaphorical sense of the preciousness of the three verses of Horace. The colour of the letters links the precious gold to the letters, so this metaphorical meaning derives from the implication of the precious metal gold, which is merged with the colour term *gold(en)*. (367) also contains the metaphorical meaning of Time of Happiness, Well-being and Prosperity in the phrase *golden times*.

OED shows that *golden verse* refers to Latin prosody, for example:

(368) That that **Golden** Verse might be fitly applied to her then Golden times:
Mollia securae peragebant otia Gentes. (OED; 1643)

Literary language with Latin prosody is beautiful and precious in literary merit. Using *golden* to describe the verse is because *golden* has the connotation of beauty and preciousness.

There are two interpretations: if the verse is directly mapped onto the metal gold to describe the preciousness, this metaphorical meaning belongs to the noun *gold*; if the verse is written in gold and then the colour represents the connotation of the preciousness of the noun *gold*, this metaphorical meaning may belong to the colour term *golden*. According to (368), it is shown that the manuscripts indeed are written in gold to highlight the value and preciousness of the words, so this metaphorical meaning is regarded as being from the colour term in the present study.

6.4.3 Late Modern English

The metaphorical meanings in the previous period continue to be used in this period, which are shown in 6.4.3.1 and 6.4.3.2. Corpora provide one emerging metaphorical meaning of Harvest in this period, which is discussed in 6.4.3.3.

6.4.3.1 Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity

The examples in the corpora show the development of this metaphorical meaning.

(369) Nice walking in the **golden** afternoon. (ARCHER 2019; 1913; The Harvest Mail. Black Sheep: Adventures in West Africa; Mackenzie, Jean Kenyon)

(370) The loch ends at Aberchalder and it was back to the canal for the last haul to Fort Augustus and Loch Ness. The morning's rain had given way to a lush **golden** evening. Walking back alongside the canal again was familiar and reassuring. We would get there. (BNC; 1992; Highland journey: a sketching tour of Scotland: retracing the footsteps of Victorian artist John T. Reid; Hedderwick, Mairi)

In (369), *golden* is used to describe an afternoon that is full of sunshine, which has an implication of happiness. *Golden* in (370) does not refer to warm sunshine but expresses the extended meaning of happiness.

(371) All my friends on your side the water represent him to me in the most amiable light; and the people infallibly reckon upon a **golden** age in both kingdoms, when it shall please God to make him the Restorer of the liberties of his people. (BNC; 1739; Swift, Jonathan; The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift)

(372) And young men are often pointed just to this old age as the **golden** time when they will be religious as they can not be now. (BNC; 1850–99; Brooks, Philips; The Pride of Life)

(373) Another Heineken weekend of records and dazzling rugby has convinced fans that Wales are on the brink of a new **golden** era of back play. (BNC; 1985–1994; The Daily Mirror)

(374) And he can finish a **golden** year late next summer with the much-awaited showdown against Chris Eubank, who took Benn's WBO middleweight title nearly two years ago before moving up himself to the 12 stone limit. (BNC; 1985–1994; The Daily Mirror)

- (375) Future Not surprisingly, however, Sharpe, who less than two years previously seemed to have a **golden** future with United and England, was scared stiff. (BNC; 1985–1994; The Daily Mirror)

(371), (372), (373), (374) and (375) show more expressions of *golden age*, *golden time*, *golden era*, *golden year*, *golden future* describing a period of time that is notable for prosperity, good fortune and success.

- (376) Details of Mr Gill's **golden** retirement deal amazed his ex-colleagues at the white-collar Manufacturing, Science and Finance union. (BNC; 1985–1994; The Daily Mirror)

(376) shows *golden* indicates financial prosperity.

6.4.3.2 Precious Language

This metaphorical meaning continues to be used in this period. The corpora show examples:

- (377) [...] thou has been wondrous kind, And all thy **golden** Words do now prove true I find; Ten thousand Transports wait, To crown my happy State, Thus kissed, and pressed, And doubly blessed, [...] (ARCHER 2019; 1731; The Devil to Pay or, The Wives Metamorphosed; Cibber, Theophilus)

- (378) I have located no instances where the poets..produce, for instance, a **golden** line. (OED; 2005)

- (379) A **golden** verse contains two crossed hyperbata, abAB. (OED; 2006)

In (377), the phrase *golden words* metaphorically refers to the preciousness of the words. In (378) and (379), *golden line* and *golden verse* refer to Latin prosody.

6.4.3.3 Harvest

Corpora provide evidence showing that *golden* is used describe harvest. For example:

- (380) **Golden** harvest crowns the year; Thank Heaven our care and toil is done, The prize of industry is won. (ARCHER 2019; 1819; ACT II. SCENE I-IV. The Heroine; or, A Daughter's Courage, A Melo-Dramatic Piece in two acts; Phillips, R.)

- (381) Always afraid of the encroachments of their Danish neighbours, that is, anxiously apprehensive of their sharing the **golden** harvest of commerce with them, or taking a little of the trade off their hands -- though they

have more than they know what to do with -- they are ever on the watch, till their very eyes lose all expression, excepting the prying glance of suspicion. (CLMET3.1; 1796; Letters on Sweden, Norway and Denmark; Wollstonecraft, Mary)

Golden develops the metaphorical meaning of Harvest with the metonymic bases of golden crops. Thus, it is extended to refer to the abstract concept of gaining after working, as (380) and (381) show.

6.4.4 Summary

The diachronic investigation of each metaphorical sense reveals different stages of their metaphorical development:

Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity: *Gold(en)* has a positive connotation etymologically. In EModE and LModE, *gold(en)* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity to describe a period of time, age and retirement.

Precious Language: In EModE, the colour and the metonymic bases of letters written in gold are explicit to refer to precious words. *Golden verse* is also metaphorically used to describe Latin prosody, which is precious language. In LModE, *gold(en)* metaphorically expresses the meaning of preciousness to describe words, lines or verse.

Harvest: In LModC, motivated by the metonymic bases of golden crops, *gold(en)* is metaphorically used to describe the abstract concept of gaining after a process of working.

Table 6.4 displays the metaphorical meanings of *gold(en)* this study found in four historical periods.

Table 6.4 Metaphorical meanings of *gold(en)* in four historical periods

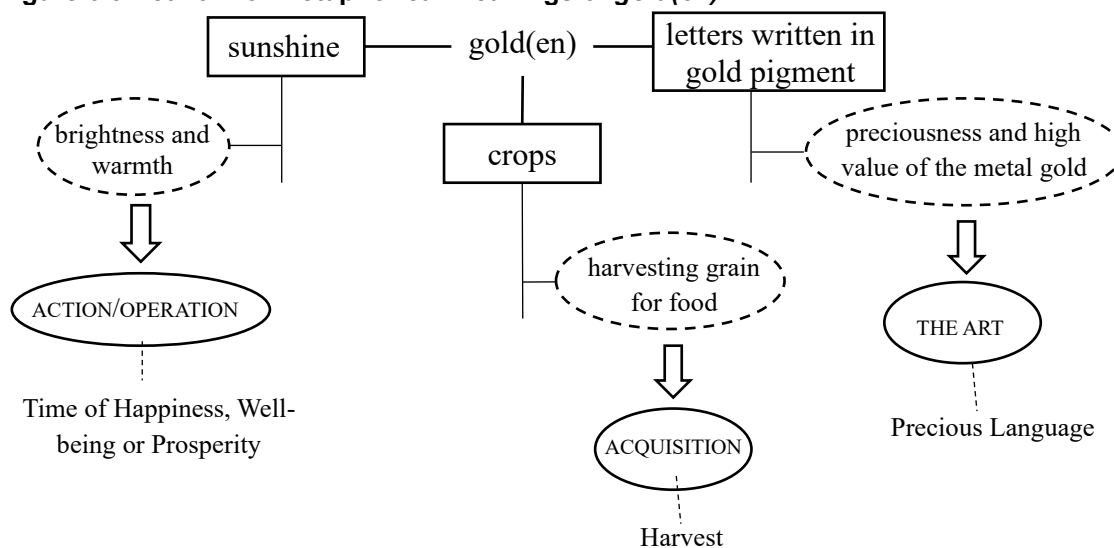
	Metaphorical meaning	Target domain	Occurrence in historical periods
1	Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity	1O16 PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS	EModE, LModE
2	Precious Language	2M03 THE ARTS	EModE, LModE
3	+ Harvest	2F05 OBTAINING	LModE

As Table 6.4 shows, *gold(en)* has two metaphorical meanings in EModE (all are supported by the corpora), three metaphorical meanings in LModE (all are supported by the corpora). In EModE, Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity in PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS and

Precious Language in THE ARTS are developed and continue to be used in LModE. In LModE, there is one emerging metaphorical meaning of Harvest in OBTAINING. Harvest is found in corpora, which is not informed by OED, HTE and MM.

Based on the analysis of metaphorical meanings in sections 6.4.1 to 6.4.3 and their developments shown in Table 6.4, Figure 6.3 shows the course of the routes taken during the development of the metaphorical meanings:

Figure 6.3 Network of metaphorical meanings of *gold(en)*



Gold(en) develops metaphorical meanings with three metonymic bases: sunshine, the metal gold and crops. Sunshine has a positive connotation of brightness and warmth, which is generalised to ACTION/OPERATION and develops into metaphorical meaning of Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity. The letters in gold colour (written in gold pigment) merge the noun *gold*'s connotations of preciousness and high value. The connotations are generalised to THE ART and develop into the metaphorical meaning of Precious Language. Crops have the connotation of harvesting grain, which is generalised to ACQUISITION and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Harvest.

6.5 *Jin(se)* 金(色)

6.5.1 presents the etymological metonymy and cultural connotations of *jin(se)*. 6.5.2, 6.5.3 and 6.5.4 show the metaphorical meanings in MC, EModC and LModC. 6.5.5 summarises the metaphorical meanings and the metaphorical development of *jin(se)*.

6.5.1 Etymological metonymy and cultural connotations

According to *Dacidian*, *jin* in ancient Chinese not only refers to gold but also refers to all metals. *Jin(se)* is used to refer to the colour of gold in OC. The dictionary provides metaphorical meanings of the noun *jin*, such as solidity and preciousness, which develop from the connotations of the precious metal gold. The dictionary shows two metaphorical meanings of the colour term *jin*, which are Buddhism and High Reputation.

6.5.2 Middle Chinese

CCL shows that the metaphorical usage of *jin(se)* starts in MC. There is only one metaphorical meaning in this period, which is Buddhism.

6.5.2.1 Buddhism

CCL gives evidence of this metaphorical meaning, for example:

- (382) [...] 金姿丈六，亦是法身？（六朝；全梁文；严可均）
The **jinzi** (golden physique) of ten feet six is also the Dharma body? (the Six Dynasties; *Quanliangwen*; Yan, Kejun)
- (383) 为玉毡久灰，金言未剖，誓传法印，化人天竺。（六朝；全梁文；严可均）
Because the jade felt has been dusty for a long time, and the **jinyan** (golden words) are dissected, I vow to pass on the Dharma seal and transform the people into heavenly dharma. (the Six Dynasties; *Quanliangwen*; Yan, Kejun)
- (384) 我今头面敬礼於佛。唯愿此地有金色光。（六朝；佛经 北凉译经）
I now bow to the Buddha with my head. May there be **jinse** light here. (the Six Dynasties; Buddhist texts *Beiliangyijing*)
- (385) 世界众生皆作金色。人天无别。（六朝；佛经 北凉译经）
All beings in the world become **jinse**. There is no distinction between human and heavenly beings. (the Six Dynasties; Buddhist texts *Beiliangyijing*)

In China, statues of Buddha and statues of Bodhisattvas are made of gold since gold does not oxidise, so the golden colour does not change through time, which represents immortal religion. As (382) shows, *jinzi* (golden physique) metonymically refers to the statue of Buddha. In (383), *jinyan* refers to the teaching words of Buddha. (384) shows that *jinse* figuratively represents Buddhism. In (385), *jinse* metaphorically refers to Buddhism.

6.5.3 Early Modern Chinese

CCL shows that the metaphorical meaning of Buddhism continues to be used in this period as in MC, so it is not discussed in this section. *Jin(se)* has one emerging metaphorical meaning of High Reputation in this period, which is discussed in 6.5.3.1.

6.5.3.1 High Reputation

In this period, *jin(se)* in the phrase *jinzizhaopai* (lit. signboard with jin words') develops the metaphorical meaning of high reputation. For example:

- (386) 天子到了前面，见有一座酒楼，上面悬着**金字招牌**是“仪凤亭”三字。(清; 乾隆南巡记)

When the emperor arrived at the front, he saw a restaurant with a **jinzizhaopai** reading 'Yifengting' (Qing Dynasty; *Qianlongnanxunji*)

- (387) [...] 总算一帆风顺，文武全才的**金字招牌**，还高高挂着。(清; 孽海花; 曾朴)

Finally, it went well, and the **jinzizhaopai** ('signboard with jin words', high reputation) of civil and military talent was still hanging high (Qing Dynasty; *Niehaihua*; Zeng, Pu)

In (386), *jinzizhaopai* refers to its original and literal meaning of the signboard with words that painted with golden pigment. It symbolises a high reputation of the stores or restaurants. This connotation belongs to the colour rather than the noun gold because *jinzi* (golden words) means words are painted in colour golden rather than made by the material of the metal. Similar to *gold(en)* in 6.4.2.2, the connotation of high reputation derives from the connotations of high value and preciousness of the noun *jin* (gold). The colour of the words links the precious gold to the words, so the colour term *jin* merges the connotations of the high value and preciousness of the noun *jin*. (387) shows that *jinzizhaopai* metaphorically refers to the high reputation of a person.

6.5.4 Late Modern Chinese

In this period, there is no example of the metaphorical meaning of Buddhism shown in CCL. High Reputation has development in this period, which is discussed in 6.2.4.1. Three emerging metaphorical meanings of Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity, Optimism, and Harvest are shown in CCL, which are discussed in 6.5.4.2, 6.5.4.3 and 6.5.4.4.

6.2.4.1 High Reputation

This metaphorical meaning continues to be used in this period with development. For example:

- (388) 论到信用，你胡大先生是天字第一号的**金字招牌**。(1977; 红顶商人胡雪岩; 高阳)

When it comes to credit, you, Mr Hu, is the number one **jinzizhaopai** (1977; Hongdingshangren; Gao, Yang)

- (389) 这并不是说领导说好的戏就一定不好，而是说一篇剧评为什么一定要打领导的**金字招牌**? (1989; 报刊 人民日报)

This is not to say that a play that the leader says is good is necessarily bad, but rather, why does a theatre review have to play on the leader's **jinzizhaopai**? (1989; Newspaper *Renminribao*)

In (388), *jinzizhaopai* metaphorically refers to the high reputation of a person as in EModC. In (389), *jinzizhaopai* is used in a negative sense to refer to a titular high reputation.

6.5.4.2 Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity

CCL provides evidence of this metaphorical meaning. For example:

- (390) 猛然生出一个幻觉：倘苦她的父母仍健在，她该拥有一个多么幸福的**金色**童年。(1994; 报刊精选)

A sudden vision of what a happy **jinse** childhood she would have had if only her parents were still alive. (1994; Newspaper Selection)

- (391) 但是，正当壮年的他步入**金色**的晚年时，所收获的一切一定会同祖国同样辉煌。(1994; 报刊精选)

But as he enters his **jinse** old age in the prime of his life, he will surely reap the same glory as his country. (1994; Newspaper Selection)

- (392) 跟外边的孩子们相比，她们舍弃了任性与娇惯，付出自己**金色**年华。(1994; 报刊精选)

Compared to the children outside, they have given up their capriciousness and pampering to give their **jinse** years. (1994; Newspaper Selection)

From (390) to (392), the period of time, childhood, old age, years, is described as *jinse* to express that the time is happy, bright and prosperous. The motivation of this metaphorical sense is uncertain. It could derive from the metonymic basis of sunshine as *golden*, which explains why *golden* and *jinse* have the same metaphorical sense; it could be the colour term merges the connotations of the preciousness and high value of the noun *jin*, or the

combination of these two motivations. Also, it is possible that this metaphorical meaning is influenced by English since there is no evidence of this usage in ancient Chinese, but it suddenly occurs in modern Chinese, and CCL shows examples of translations from English literature containing this metaphorical meaning.

6.2.4.3 Optimism

CCL shows the metaphorical meaning of Optimism in this period. For example:

- (393) 我热爱这年轻时光所有的愿望被镀上**金色**的光芒这荒凉的大地需要一场初雪来覆盖伤痕仿佛我贫瘠的生活需要诗歌的灯盏抚慰需要一位诗经里的女子为我拂去书桌上的尘埃一直在风中沉浮并保持方向。(当代; 世间物象; 汪其德)
I love these young days all my wishes are gilded with a **jinse** glow; this barren earth needs a first snowfall to cover the wounds it's as if my barren life needs the lamp of poetry to soothe; it needs a woman in the Book of Psalms to be my brush the dust off my desk stayed on the wind and stayed the course. (Contemporary; *Shijianwuxiang*; Wang, Qide)
- (394) 章秋柳坦然又接着说, “但他们太喜欢在平凡的事实上涂抹了理想的**金色**, 也是不很科学态度的事罢?” (1928; 蚀; 茅盾)
Qiuliu Zhang frankly continued, ‘But they are too fond of applying the **jinse** of ideals to ordinary facts, and it's also not a very scientific attitude thing, right?’ (1928; *Shi*; Maodun)
- (395) 升腾着**金色**的希望 (1994; 报刊精选)
Rising with **jinse** hope (1994; Newspaper Selection)
- (396) 弘扬红色精神、致力绿色发展、放飞**金色**梦想 [...] (2010s; 网络语料 微信公众号)
Promote the Red Spirit, be committed to Green Development, and fly the **jinse** Dream [...] (2010s; Wechat subscription)

In (393), the poetic language describes that the wishes are gilded with *jinse* glow, which means that the ideals are optimistic. (394), (395) and (396) show that *jinse* is used to describe hopes and dreams. This sense is similar to Time of Happiness, Well-being and Prosperity but it is not used to describe a period of time but abstractions such as hopes or dreams. In addition, (393) also shows that Optimism probably develops from the metonymic basis of sunshine, whose brightness and warmth generate positive connotations.

6.2.4.4 Harvest

This metaphorical meaning derives from the metonymic bases of ripe crops or fruits such as wheat whose colour is *jinse*. For example:

- (397) 然而，播下绿色的希望，未必能有**金色**的收获 [...] (1994; 报刊精选)

However, sowing green hopes may not yield a **jinse** harvest [...] (1994; Newspaper Selection)

- (398) 一个又一个的记忆难关被他攻克了，他研究出来的“Z Y D”记忆法像一个**金色**的果子向人们透出信息：丰收的秋天到了！(1994; 报刊精选)

One after another, he overcame the difficulties of memory, and the ‘ZYD’ mnemonic method he developed was like a **jinse** fruit that sent a message to the people: the autumn harvest is here! (1994; Newspaper Selection)

- (399) 耕耘春天的人，秋天是**金色**的。(1994; 报刊精选)

He who ploughs the spring, the autumn is **jinse**. (1994; Newspaper Selection)

- (400) 4 5 岁在人的一生中是**金色**的年龄，是收获的季节 (1994; 报刊精选)

45 is the **jinse** age in one’s life, the season of harvest (1994; Newspaper Selection)

(397) shows that the harvest of crops is metaphorically used to describe the abstract concept of gaining after a process of working, so the harvest is described as *jinse*. In (398) and (399), autumn is associated with the harvest. Fruits in *jinse* are commonly used to refer to achievement. In (399), ‘autumn is *jinse*’ is a metaphor of ‘autumn is time of gaining’. (400) compares the *jinse* age of one’s life to the season of harvest, which reveals the metaphorical mappings of AGE IS THE SEASON and JINSE IS HARVEST.

6.5.5 Summary

The diachronic investigation of each metaphorical sense reveals different stages of their metaphorical development:

Buddhism: In MC, the colour describing physique metonymically refer to the statue of Buddha. *Jin(se)* is also metaphorically used to describe words, light, and human beings. In EModC, this metaphorical meaning continues to be used.

High Reputation: In EModC, *jinzizhaopai* has the connotation of high reputation, which derives the connotations of high value and preciousness of the noun *jin*, and it develops into the metaphorical meaning of High Reputation. In LModC, it continues to be used and also develops another negative sense of titular high reputation.

Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity: *Jin(se)* has a positive connotation etymologically. In LModC, *jin(se)* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity to describe a period of time.

Optimism: *Jin(se)* has a positive connotation etymologically. In LModC, *jin(se)* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Optimism to describe dream, hope and ideal.

Harvest: In LModC, *jin(se)* is metaphorically used to describe the abstract concept of gaining after a process of working.

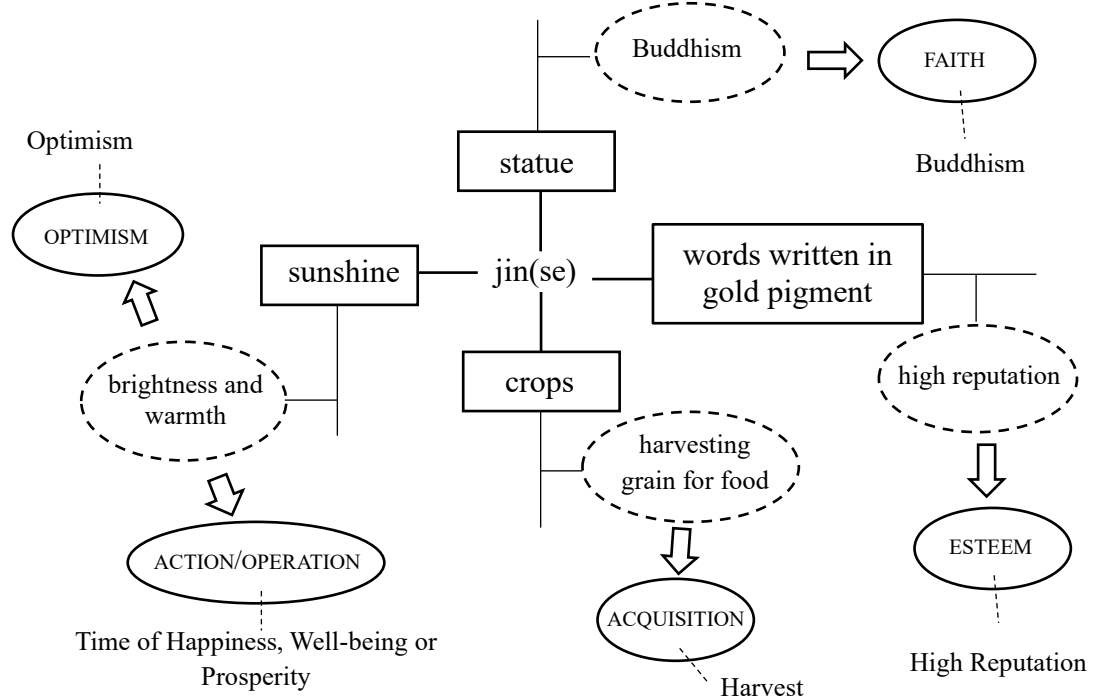
Table 6.5 summarises that the metaphorical meanings of *jin(se)* this study found in four historical periods.

Table 6.5 Metaphorical meanings of *jin(se)* in four historical periods

	Metaphorical meaning	Target domain	Occurrence in historical periods
1	Buddhism	3H01 FAITH	MC, EModC
2	High Reputation	2B07 ESTEEM	EModC, LModC
2	Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity	1O16 PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS	LModC
3	Optimism	2A26 EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION	LModC
4	Harvest	2F05 OBTAINING	LModC

Table 6.5 shows *jin(se)* has one metaphorical meaning in MC, two in EModC and four in LModC. In MC, Buddhism in FAITH is developed and continues to be used in EModC but disappears in LModC. In EModC, one emerging metaphorical meaning of High Reputation in ESTEEM is found, which continues to be used in LModC. In LModC, *jin(se)* has three emerging metaphorical meanings of Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity in PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS, Optimism in EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION and Harvest in OBTAINING.

Based on the analysis of metaphorical meanings in sections 6.5.1 to 6.5.4 and their developments shown in Table 6.5, Figure 6.4 shows the course of the routes taken during the development of the metaphorical meanings:

Figure 6.4 Network of metaphorical meanings of *jin(se)*

It is shown that *jin(se)* develops the metaphorical senses with three metonymic bases: statue, words written in gold pigment, sunshine, and crops. The metonymic basis of statue motivates *jin(se)* to have connotation of things relating to Buddhism, which is generalised into FAITH and develops the metaphorical meaning of Buddhism. The words written in gold pigment has the connotation of high reputation, which derives from the noun *jin*'s connotations of preciousness and high value. The connotation is generalised to ESTEEM and develops into the metaphorical meaning of High Reputation. Similar to *gold(en)*, *jin(se)* has the positive connotation generated from sunshine, which is generalised to ACTION/OPERATION and develops the metaphorical meaning of Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity from. This positive connotation is generalised to another domain of OPTIMISM and develops the metaphorical meaning of Optimism. Crops have the connotation of harvesting grain, which is generalised to ACQUISITION and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Harvest as *gold(en)*.

6.6 Comparison of *gold(en)* and *jin(se)*

Table 6.6 shows the comparison of metaphorical meanings of *gold(en)* and *jin(se)*, in the order of the target domains in the MM.

Table 6.6 Comparison of metaphorical meanings between *gold(en)* and *jin(se)*

Target domain	Source domain	Metaphorical meaning	Motivation
1O16 PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS	<i>gold(en), jin(se)</i>	Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity	metonymic basis of sunshine
2A26 EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION	<i>jin(se)</i>	Optimism	metonymic basis of sunshine
2B07 ESTEEM	<i>jin(se)</i>	High Reputation	metonymic basis of words written in gold pigment
2F05 OBTAINING	<i>gold(en), jin(se)</i>	Harvest	metonymic bases of crops
2M03 THE ARTS	<i>gold(en)</i>	Precious Language	metonymic basis of letters written in gold pigment
3H01 FAITH	<i>jin(se)</i>	Buddhism	metonymic basis of gold status

Table 6.6 shows that *gold(en)* and *jin(se)* have two similarities in metaphorical meanings. Firstly, the same metaphorical meaning of Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity is motivated by the same metonymic basis of sunshine. The metonymic basis of sunshine generates the same positive connotations due to the shared experience of sunshine bringing brightness and warmth. The connotation develops into the metaphorical meaning of Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity in PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS, motivated by the generic conceptualisation SUNSHINE REPRESENTS GOOD TIME. Secondly, the same metaphorical meaning of Harvest is motivated by the same metonymic bases of crops, which have the same connotation of harvest due to the shared experience of harvesting crops. The connotation develops into the metaphorical meaning of Harvest in OBTAINING, motivated by the generic conceptualisation of HARVESTING CROPS IS OBTAINING OTHER THINGS.

The same metonymic bases of letters/words written in gold pigment develop different metaphorical meanings for *gold(en)* (Precious Language in THE ARTS) and *jin(se)* (High Reputation in ESTEEM). For *jin(se)*, the culturally specific metonymy of statue develop a different metaphorical meaning of Buddhism in FAITH. The positive connotation of sunshine also develops metaphorical meaning of Optimism in EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION.

Comparing *orange – cheng(se)/juse* and *gold(en) – jin(se)* gives some clues as to why *orange – cheng(se)/juse* has no metaphorical meanings either in English or Chinese. Firstly, the metonymic basis of *gold(en)* and *jin(se)* is the precious metal gold which has cultural implications and therefore *gold(en) – jin(se)* are more likely to develop metaphorical meanings. On the contrary, the metonymic basis of *orange – cheng(se)/juse*

is the fruit orange/mandarin which lacks cultural implications in both English and Chinese. Secondly, it is possible that *gold(en) – jin(se)* blocks *orange – cheng(se)/juse* from developing metaphorical meanings to some extent. Having similar hues, *orange – cheng(se)/juse* has only one metonymic basis of the plant orange but *gold(en) – jin(se)* not only has its etymologic metonymy of the metal gold but also has another metonymic basis of sunshine which motivates metaphorical meanings. It is possible that *gold(en) – jin(se)* takes up the metonymic bases that *orange – cheng(se)/juse* could take up. In fact, *orange – cheng(se)/juse* could have been used to describe sunshine and then develop the implications of happiness, well-being or prosperity, but *gold(en) – jin(se)* blocks this metaphorical development. It is undeniable that *gold(en) – jin(se)* is closer to sunshine compared to *orange* because both gold and sunshine are glittery. The key problem is that *orange – cheng(se)/juse* has fewer metonymic bases compared to *gold(en) – jin(se)* because of its physical properties or cultural factors.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter investigates the colour terms *purple* and *zi* and *gold(en)* and *jin(se)*, whose etymological metonymies are not plants but dyes and metal. The findings show that English and Chinese colour terms with the same etymological metonymies of dyes and metal develop metaphorical meanings in the same way as those with the same etymological metonymies of plants in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. Also, the reasons for the similarities and the differences are the same, though the conceptualisation of the metaphorical mappings is not relevant to the plants for the colour terms in this Chapter. It suggests that all the colour metaphors rather than limited to those with the metonymic bases of plants are developed from metonymy to metaphor and metonymic bases play a role in giving rise to the similarities and differences between English and Chinese.

Chapter 7 *Pink* and *fen(hong)(se)*, *peach(y)* and *tao(hua)se*, *beige* and *mise*

This Chapter focuses on three pairs of English and Chinese colour terms with different metonymic bases, to examine the role of metonymic bases in developing metaphorical meanings. 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3 discuss *pink* and *fen(hong)(se)* and their comparison. 7.4, 7.5 and 7.6 discuss *peach(y)* and *tao(hua)se* and their comparison. 7.7, 7.8 and 7.9 discuss *beige* and *mise* and their comparison respectively. 7.10 shows the conclusion of these three pairs of colour terms.

Referring to the same hue, which is intermediate between red and white, *pink* and its Chinese counterpart *fen(hong)(se)* have different etymological metonymies. The etymological metonymic basis of *pink* is uncertain but possibly the petals of the pink flower (i.e. of the genus *Dianthus*), while that of *fen(hong)(se)* is makeup powder used on the cheeks. The equivalence of *pink* and *fen(hong)(se)* is established on the basis of the description of their hues in dictionaries; this hue is between red and white, and they are both used to refer to the blush and petals.

Peach(y) and *tao(hua)se* are investigated and compared because both have metonymic bases from peach, the plant, so they are regarded as an equivalent pair with a similar hue. However, their etymological metonymies that generate connotations are slightly different. The etymological metonymy for the colour term *peach(y)* is both the fruit peach and peach blossom, and its connotations are mainly generated from the colour of the fruit. The etymological metonymy of the colour term *tao(hua)se* is the peach blossom. Therefore, *peach(y)* and *tao(hua)se* are considered as having different etymological metonymies of the fruit peach and peach blossom.

Beige and *mise* are also studied because they have similar hues but have different etymologic metonymies. According to OED, *beige* refers to a colour like that of undyed and unbleached wool, which is a yellowish-grey hue. *Dacidian* shows that *mise* refers to the colour white with a light-yellow tinge. In addition, the Modern Chinese Dictionary also indicates that *mise* refers to a pale and slightly yellow colour. The etymological metonymic basis of *mise* is rice, while that of *beige* is unrelated to plants. Since the descriptions of *beige* and *mise* are slightly different and they have different etymological metonymies, their equivalence needs to be considered. According to the online Cambridge Dictionary:

English – Chinese (Simplified) Dictionary,¹² the Chinese translation of *beige* is *mise* (米色). There are three entries in the English translation of *mise*: (1) *beige*, which is described as a pale brown colour, (2) *ecru*, which is defined as a pale brown or cream colour, and (3) off white, which is defined as a white colour with little grey or yellow in it. According to the online Collins Dictionary,¹³ the Chinese translation of *beige* is *huizongse de* (greyish brown) and the English translation of *mise* is *beige*. It is shown that *beige* and *mise* are not one-to-one translations, and their hues also have various descriptions. It seems that yellowish, greyish, brownish and whitish hues are all mentioned in the definitions. This study regards *beige* and *mise* as having similar hues based on the fact that *beige* is mainly used as a fashionable colour of clothing and home decorations, and *mise* is used in the same way as *beige*. The equivalence of *beige* and *mise* will be further discussed in 7.5 and 7.6.

7.1 *Pink*

7.1.1 presents the etymological metonymy and cultural connotations of *pink*. The colour term is not found in the history of the language until LModE, so 7.1.2 discusses the metaphorical senses in LModE. 7.1.3 summarises the metaphorical meanings and the metaphorical development of *pink*.

7.1.1 Etymological metonymy and cultural connotations

OED shows the earliest occurrence (in 1607) of *pink* denoting the colour that is intermediate between red and white. According to OED, *pink* is a homonym of the meanings of the bird name chaffinch, a yellowish or greenish-yellow lake pigment, a small sailing vessel, a minnow, decorative hole or eyelet punched in a garment: these are all irrelevant to the colour term. In the entry of *pink* (NOUN⁵ & ADJECTIVE²), OED shows that *pink* is of uncertain origin and perhaps formed within English. It shows that its etymon is *pink* the verb that means cutting or piercing eyelet holes as ornament. *Pink* the noun referring to flower would have been so called because of the jagged shape of its petals. When *pink* refers to the flower of genus *Dianthus*, it is a polyseme of the colour term, which shows that the colour term *pink* comes from the flower. By looking at the OED and the HTE, it is shown that *pink* has figurative meanings before the earliest date it is used as

¹² <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english-chinese-simplified/beige> (Accessed: February 2025)

¹³ <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english-chinese/beige> (Accessed: 10 February 2025); <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/chinese-english/%E7%B1%B3%E8%89%B2> (Accessed: 10 February 2025)

a colour term. OED shows that the noun *pink* (referring to the flower rather than the colour term) has the figurative use of indicating the most excellent example of something or the most perfect condition or degree of something. The phrase *in the pink* refers to excellent health or spirits because of the figurative sense of the noun *pink*. This metaphorical meaning is attested in 1597 before the earliest occurrence of the colour meaning of *pink* in 1607, which could suggest that it is from the pre-colour meaning. It is reasonable to assume that *pink* as a kind of flower has figurative meanings that *flower* has. OED indicates that *flower* has the figurative meaning of the choicest individual or individuals among a number of persons or things:

(401) Moder milde flur of alle. (OED; c1200)

Another relevant figurative meaning of *flower* is the brightest and fairest example or embodiment of any quality. OED confirms that this meaning is cross-referenced with the figurative meaning of most excellent example and the most perfect condition or degree of *pink*. In addition, *flower* and *pink* share the metaphorical meaning of most excellent example using the same structures, which are ‘pink/flower + of + nouns (usually a group)’ and ‘pink/flower + of + abstract nouns or virtues’.

OED demonstrates that *pink* is used to refer to erotica or pornography after Japanese *pinku* develops the metaphorical sense of being erotic, which is influenced by Japanese *momoiro*’s (lit. ‘peach-colour, pink’) erotic and sex-related meaning. *Pink* refers to the homosexuality of a man probably arising from the colour being associated with femininity, which is opposed to the masculinity of *blue*. These two metaphorical meanings will be discussed in 7.1.2.2 and 7.1.2.4.

7.1.2 Late Modern English

OED, HTE and MM show that *pink* has four emerging metaphorical meanings in this period, which are Politics, Pornography and Homosexuality. These are discussed in 7.1.2.1, 7.1.2.2 and 7.1.2.4. Corpora show evidence of another two metaphorical meanings of Femininity and Optimism, and a connotation of intense emotions, which are shown in 7.1.2.3, 7.1.2.5 and 7.1.2.6.

7.1.2.1 Politics

According to the OED, *pink* has a metaphorical meaning of ‘[a] person whose political views are left of centre, though usually considered to be less extreme than those of a red’. The motivation for this metaphorical meaning is the degree of saturation of the colour pink less than the degree of saturation of red. For example:

- (402) Who asked you to butt in Nigel? Always so absurdly liberal, not to say egalitarian. We were having a divine party till you came barging in with your pale **pink** politics. (BNC; 1984; Willoughby’s phoney war; Fox, William)
- (403) Politically he was constitutionally blue but emotionally **pink**, but as his politics required even less observance than his religion there was no real dichotomy in this. He had a clear understanding of his social position in Georgian society and his writings show an undue deference to the gentry. (BNC; 1984; William Green of Ambleside: a Lake District artist: (1760–1823); Sloss, J D G and Burkett, M E.)

7.1.2.2 Pornography

OED shows this metaphorical meaning and provides some examples. For instance:

- (404) Lovely needle~work! That’s a funny beginning for a **Pink** un. (OED; 1898)

Pink’s metaphorical meaning of pornography chiefly refers to erotic films in Japan like blue films. *Pink film* is originally used to refer to Japanese erotic film. It is said that *pink film* is introduced by Minoru Murai, who labelled an erotic film called the *Cave of Lust* published in 1963 as *momoiro eiga* (pink film) (Nornes 2014: 27–28). Murai also distinguished pink film from blue film, a term which refers to a kind of secretly produced stag film (2014: 28). However, *pink* is associated with erotic or sexual implication long before Minoru Murai introduced *pink film*. Until the 1950s, the Japanese word *momoiro*, which literally refers to peach colour, was used to refer to erotic matters (2014: 28). It is worth mentioning that *tao(hua)se* in Chinese, referring to the colour of peach blossom, has an etymological connotation of erotic because of *tao*’s exuberance and ability to reproduce and the similarity between the fruit and the female sexual organ. This connotation is shared by the Eastern Asian cultural circles (see 7.5.1). It is possible that there is a language interaction between *taose* and *momoiro*. From the 1960s on the English loanword *pinku* (pink) started to refer to erotic matters as well and was more frequently associated with sex. It is assumed that *pinku*’s association with erotic matters is due to its similarity with

momoiro since it was at first often used with the two Chinese characters for *momoiro*. *Pink film* gradually became a generally accepted name for pornography in Japan.

7.1.2.3 Femininity

Corpora give evidence showing *pink* has the metaphorical meaning of Femininity. For example:

- (405) I mean boys wear blue, girls wear **pink**, if you see a boy with pinki, you know he's classed as cissy, er, cissy or wimp things like that. (BNC; 1985–1994; Young women in Scotland: television discussion (Leisure))
- (406) The male starling has a steel blue tinge to the base of its bill and the female, a **pink** tinge. (Blue for a boy, pink for a girl!) (BNC; 1994; Birdwatcher's year. Ehrlich, Paul R. & Naeem, Shahid)
- (407) Erm, the, the only other item on, on the budget book at the, that I particularly want to draw members' attention to, is, are the **pink** funds, which are (unclear). (BNC; 1994; Shropshire County Council: committee meeting)

It is uncertain why *pink* is conventionally regarded as the colour of femininity. Frassanito and Pettorini (2008) investigate pink and blue as colours that denote gender. Frassanito and Pettorini argue that at one point pink was more a boy's colour and blue was for girls because blue was associated with the Virgin Mary in Christian Europe. They find that pink for girls and blue for boys were not uniform until the 1950s. The Nazis' use of pink triangles to mark homosexuals suggests *pink* was associated with girls at that time. Then after World War II, *blue* became more of a masculine colour because it was used extensively for men's uniforms. On the contrary, *pink* was promoted as a woman's colour in marketing from the 1940s (2008: 881). The cultural factors of why *pink* represents girls are complicated, including both the biologic basis of sex difference in colour preferences and social and cultural influence (2008: 882).

7.1.2.4 Homosexuality

The OED indicates that *pink* has a metaphorical meaning of 'relating to homosexuals or homosexuality'. For example:

- (408) 'Oh, Francis always says we're pervert posers' anonymous -- we do an arts magazine, **Pink** I Do Like, gay and lesbian stuff. Have a look.' 'Oh,' said Lucy, clearly surprised to see glossy sophistication issue from such a down-market maelstrom. (BNC; 1991; Jay loves Lucy; Cooper, Fiona)

- (409) D'Angelo also relates the example of corporate America waking up to the belated realisation that what has become known as 'the **pink** economy' represents significant purchasing power. [...] But all other things being equal, the gay and lesbian community has responded well to examples of perceived corporate good will. (BNC; 1985–1994; [Scotsman]. Leisure material)
- (410) Lack of public awareness has been one reason for the spread of the killer disease. 'Until early 1985 members of the gay community did not believe in AIDS,' says the President of the Rio homosexual group, **Pink** Triangle. (BNC; 1985–1994; New Internationalist)

Pink symbolising homosexuality may originate from the Nazis using a pink triangle to mark homosexuals in their concentration camps. It reverses the previous colour coding of blue for girls and pink for boys, and this suggests that pink was associated with girls at that time (Frassanito and Pettorini 2008: 881). Nazi used the colour pink to express a softer, 'unmanly' identity of homosexual man, which shows that *pink* refers to a homosexual man in a shameful sense because its connotation of femininity. Later, *pink* is reclaimed as a positive symbol of queerness.

7.1.2.5 Optimism

This metaphorical meaning is not shown in the HTE but is illustrated by examples from the corpora, for example:

- (411) Mr. Belloc - who has evidently never read his Malthus - dreams of a beautiful little village community of peasant proprietors, each sticking like a barnacle to his own little bit of property, beautifully healthy and simple and illiterate and Roman Catholic and local, local over the ears. I am afraid the stars in their courses fight against such **pink** and golden dreams. (CLMET3.1; 1903; Mankind in the Making; Wells, Herbert George)
- (412) It's much easier to be kind if you are American and **pink** than if you are French and anxious. (CLMET3.1; 1920; The Happy Foreigner; Bagnold, Enid Algerine)

This metaphorical meaning could be motivated by the metonymic basis of dawn, the cultural connotation of the Catholic Church or the flower pink. The first assumption is that *pink* has the metaphorical meaning of Optimism because the dawn symbolises hope and this implication is given to *pink* as a metonym of dawn. The corpora demonstrate that *pink* is sometimes used to describe the colour of clouds. For example:

- (413) [...] the storm was going over; morning would “line the black mantle of the night with a pink **dawn** of promise” (CLMET3.1; 1905; Arnold, Edwin Lester Linden; Gulliver of Mars)

However, the combination with dawn may suggest that this metaphorical meaning is from the dawn, not the colour pink, and *pink* could equally describe sunset (s.v. *pink*, v.² 2).

Thus, this is only a possible explanation. The second assumption is that *pink* represents joy in the Catholic Church. There is an example in the ARCHER 2019:

- (414) Purple of course was a colour of mourning in the Catholic Church as **pink** was a colour of rejoicing. (ARCHER 2019; 1977; Quiet as a Nun; Fraser, Antonia)

(414) shows that pink is a colour of rejoicing in the Catholic Church, and thus it is extended to a metaphorical meaning of Optimism. However, it is not clear why *pink* is regarded as rejoicing in the Catholic Church. The third explanation is that Optimism is motivated by the metonymic basis of flower, which is favoured by this study. *Pink* referring to flowers has metaphorical meanings of Most Excellent Example and Most Perfect Condition or Degree, which gives the colour *pink* a positive implication and then it develops the metaphorical meaning of Optimism. Interestingly, corpora show evidence of the combination of *pink* and *rose*. It is uncertain whether *rosepink* is regarded as a kind of *pink* or *rose*, though the OED indicates that the figurative meaning of *rosepink* equals rose-coloured, which is ‘characterized by cheerful optimism, or a tendency to regard matters in a highly favourable or attractive light.’ Thus, *rosepink* can be regarded as *pink* as the colour of roses. *Rosepink* expresses a romantic, artful and beautiful feeling, for example:

- (415) In fact, if we pierce through that **rosepink** vapour of Sentimentalism, Philanthropy, and Feasts of Morals, there lies behind it one of the sorriest spectacles. (CLMET3.1; 1837; The French Revolution; Carlyle, Thomas)

- (416) Combined with such an intellectual gift as his, it makes pictures of a certain gorgeous attractiveness: but they are not genuinely poetical. Not white sunlight: something operatic; a kind of **rose-pink**, artificial bedizenment. (CLMET3.1; 1840; On heroes and hero worship and the heroic in history; Carlyle, Thomas)

Pink with the combination of flowers has positive meanings. This shows that it is possible that *pink* borrows its positive connotation from flowers and develops the metaphorical meaning of Optimism.

7.1.2.6 (intense emotions)

People's complexions turn pink when they are experiencing some intense emotions such as embarrassment, fear and anger. For example:

(417) “Yes,” said Mrs. Curtis, perhaps, since her daughter was to have the shock, rather glad to have a witness to the surprise it caused her: “you know people will gossip, and some one has put it about that - that this horrid man was –” Mrs. Curtis paused, Miss Wellwood was as **pink** as her cap strings. (CLMET3.1; 1865; *The Clever Woman of the Family*; Yonge, Charlotte Mary)

(418) It's a mercy that you turn **pink** with fright, not green like the sea-green Robespierre. (CLMET3.1; 1884; *We Two*; Edna Lyall [Ada Ellen Bayly])

(419) “T is you yourself are one or other,” said that individual, by this time **pink** with anger, “and if you think because I am what I am you can safely taunt me, you are wrong.” (CLMET3.1; 1905; *Gulliver of Mars*; Arnold, Edwin Lester Linden)

(417), (418) and (419) show one becomes pink with embarrassment, fright or anger but there are no words about complexion directly occurring in these sentences, which indicates that *pink* is in the transitional stage between a metonymy of face colour and a metaphor of intense emotions.

7.1.3 Summary

The diachronic investigation of each metaphorical sense reveals different stages of their metaphorical development:

Politics: In LModE, *pink* is metaphorically used to refer a political party because of its connotation of lesser degree of saturation of red.

Pornography: In LModE, *pink* in Japanese has the connotation of erotic and *pink film* refers to pornography, which then influences *pink*'s metaphorical use in *pink film* in English.

Femininity: In LModE, *pink*'s connotation of femininity is explicit as opposed to *blue* representing male. In this period, *pink* is metaphorically used to refer to femininity.

Homosexuality: In LModE, *pink* represents homosexuality in the contexts relating to gay or lesbian community. This probably because *pink* has the connotation of femininity, so it is

used to describe a homosexual man in a shameful sense, which gradually develops into the metaphorical sense of Homosexuality.

Optimism: In LModE, probably because *pink*'s metonymic bases of flowers have a positive connotation, *pink* expresses the metaphorical meaning of Optimism and is used to describe a dream or a person.

(intense emotions): In LModE, the metonymic basis of face with the colour pink and the intense emotions such as fright and anger are explicit. It is ambiguous whether *pink* is literally or metaphorically used to describe the emotion of fear. Because the intensive emotions are explicit, the semantic highlight of *pink* is still the face colour. There is no evidence showing its metaphoricity develops, so it is a connotation of *pink*.

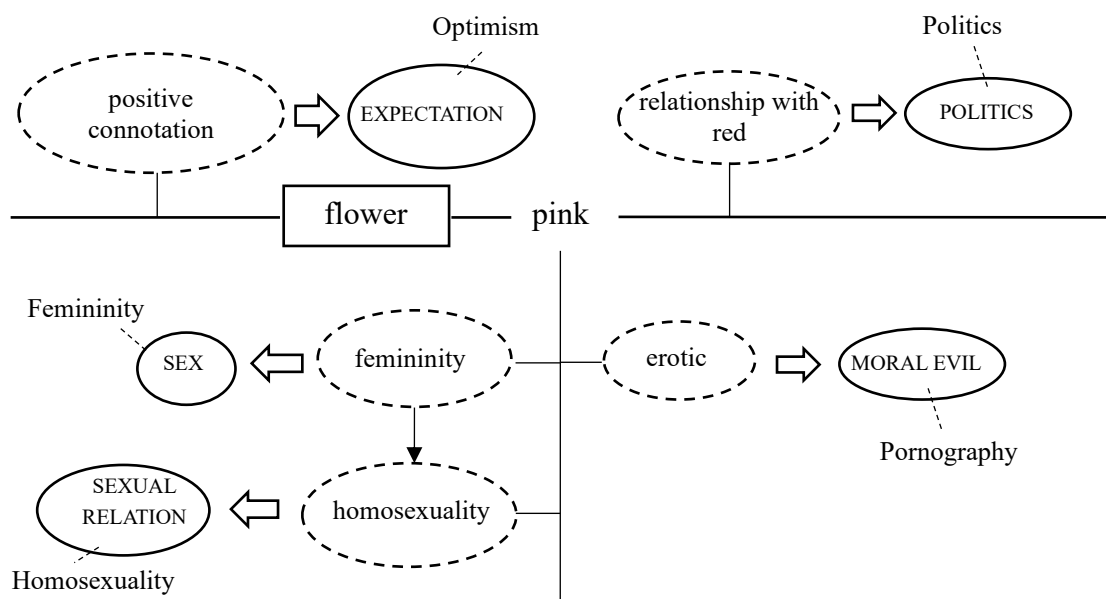
Table 7.1 summarises the metaphorical meanings of *pink* this study found in four historical periods.

Table 7.1 Metaphorical meanings of *pink* in four historical periods

	Metaphorical meaning	Target domain	Occurrence in historical periods
1	Politics	3D03 POLITICS	LModE
2	Pornography	3M03 THE ARTS	LModE
3	+ Femininity	1B04 BIOLOGICAL SEX	LModE
4	Homosexuality	1I06 SEXUAL RELATIONS	LModE
5	+ Optimism	2A26 EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION	LModE
6	+ (intense emotions)	2D01 EMOTION	(LModE)

As Table 7.1 shows, in LModE, *pink* develops the metaphorical meanings of Politics in POLITICS, Pornography in THE ARTS, Femininity in BIOLOGICAL SEX, Homosexuality in SEXUAL RELATIONS, Optimism in EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION and the connotation of intense emotions in EMOTION.

Based on the analysis of metaphorical meanings in sections 7.1.2.1 to 7.1.2.6 and their developments shown in Table 7.1, Figure 7.1 shows the course of the routes taken during the development of the metaphorical meanings:

Figure 7.1 Network of metaphorical meanings of *pink*

The metonymic basis of flower generates the positive connotation, which is generalised to the domain of EXPECTATION and develops the metaphorical meaning of Optimism. The metaphorical meaning of Optimism is probably motivated by the metonymic basis of flower but can also be the metonymic basis of dawn or its associations with rejoicing in Christianity. The connotation of erotic which is influenced by *pink* in Japanese is generalised to the domain of MORAL EVIL and develops the metaphorical meaning of Pornography. The connotation of femininity is generalised into the domain of SEX and develops the metaphorical meaning of Femininity. The reason for *pink* has the connotation of femininity is uncertain. Because of its connotation of femininity, *pink* is used to describe a homosexual man. The connotation of homosexuality is generalised into the domain of SEXUAL RELATIONS and develops the metaphorical meaning of Homosexuality. *Pink* has the quality of having a lesser degree of saturation than *red*, which is generalised into the domain of POLITICS and develops the metaphorical meaning of Politics because of its relationship with other colours.

7.2 *Fen(hong)(se)* 粉(红)(色)

7.2.1 presents the etymological metonymy and cultural connotations of *fen(hong)(se)*. 7.2.2 and 7.2.3 discuss the metaphorical senses in EModC and LModC. 7.2.4 summarises the metaphorical meanings and the metaphorical development of *fen(hong)(se)*.

7.2.1 Etymological metonymy and cultural connotations

In OC, *chi* refers to red colour and *hong* refers to pale red, pink or peachy, but in present-day Chinese *hong* is the foci of the RED category. Zhao and Cheng (2004) explore when and why *chi* is replaced by *hong*. They find that in the Han dynasty (OC) *hong* occasionally was used for *chi* and then gradually replaced the use of *chi*. In MC, there was no difference when *chi* and *hong* referred to the red colour. In the Ming and Qing dynasties (EModC), *chi* was largely replaced by *hong*. According to *Dacidian* and CCL corpus, *hong* does not show any metaphorical meaning when it refers to pale red.

Because *hong* is gradually used to refer to red, its original reference to pink is through another colour term, *fenhong* (*fen* refers to white metonymically, *hong* refers to red). It is also used with the suffix *se* ‘colour’ as *fenhongse*. In present-day Chinese, *fenhong/fenhongse* is often shortened as *fen/fense*. Thus, *fenhong*, *fenhongse*, *fen*, *fense* are the four most commonly used variants of the colour term in LModC, which is described as *fen(hong)(se)/fen(hong)se* in the present study. Before LModC, since *fen* originally refers to rice powder, *fense* is the colour white, which is different from the *fense* that is shortened from *fen(hong)se*. This is discussed later.

According to *Dacidian*, *fen* began to denote the colour in the Tang Dynasty (MC). The earliest example the dictionary gives is:

- (420) 南留进五色樱桃：粉樱桃、蜡樱桃、紫樱桃、朱樱桃、大小木樱桃。（唐；隋炀帝海山记）
Nanliu offered tributes of cherries in five colours: **fen** cherries, yellow cherries, purple cherries, red cherries, and daxiaomu cherries. (Tang Dynasty; *Suiyangdihaishanji*)

However, by investigating occurrences of *fen* in CCL, this citation might be wrong because *fen* is never individually used for the colour pink before LModC, but it sometimes refers to white. In (420), *fen* in ‘*fen* cherries’ does not refer to the colour pink but refers to the colour white which in this phrase is used as a type-modifier rather than a colour term.

The pre-colour meanings of *fen* are ‘rice powder’, ‘smash’, ‘white makeup powder’, and ‘decorate/sugarcoat’. According to *Shuowen*, the etymological meaning of *fen* is rice powder, which was extended to refer to face powder (makeup) and used as a general term for powdered materials. Thus, *fen* sometimes refers to the colour white since rice powder is white.

As *hong* gradually refers to red rather than pink, the colour pink is often referred to as compound *fenhong*, which is made of *fen* (white) and *hong* (red). As early as in the Han Dynasty (OC), *hongfen* is used to refer to reddish makeup powders, which function as blushers used by young and beautiful females. For example:

- (421) 娥娥红粉妆 (东汉; 古诗十九首)
A beautiful girl wears **hongfen** (red powder) makeup (Eastern Han Dynasty; *Gushishijiushou*)

It is hard to say whether *hongfen* refers to red or pink. The semantic ambiguity may arise from the fact that the deep or pale red in the blush does not matter because it is used as a type modifier, that is, redder than the face when white powder is applied.

Hongfen later develops the metaphorical meanings of women and their beauty because it is uniquely used by females, which is distinct from the white face powders that can also be used by males. When *hongfen* is applied to the face (especially the face wearing white powder), it has a hue of pink. Alternately, some examples show that *fen* (white makeup powder) is mixed with the reddish blush which may result in *fen* having the hue of *pink*. For example:

- (422) 娇饶粉自红。(唐; 李贺诗全集)
The beauty's **fen** (makeup powders) becomes red. (Tang Dynasty; *Liheshiquanji*)
- (423) 艳色浮妆粉 (唐; 游仙窟)
Vivid colour appears in **fen** (makeup powders) (Tang Dynasty; *Youxianku*)
- (424) 羞脸粉生红 (北宋; 晏几道词)
Shy face's **fen** (makeup powders) appears red (Northern Song Dynasty; *Yanjidaoci*)

The hue of *fen* is regarded as a mixture of white and red, in which white is definitely from the white makeup powder, but red can be obtained from the natural blushing face colour or the blusher *hongfen*. In addition, *hongfen* emphasises the beauty and young age of females.

The expression of *fenhong* is firstly used as the colour term in EModC to refer to the colour that mixes *red* and *white*. The earliest example of *fenhong* in CCL corpus is in the Southern Song Dynasty. For example:

- (425) [...] 盖退红若今之**粉红**，而髹器亦有作此色者，今无之矣。绍兴末，缣帛有一等似皂而淡者，谓之不肯红，亦退红类耶？（宋；老学庵续笔记；陆游）
 [...] *tuihong* is today's **fenhong**, painted containers have this colour, which is no longer used. At the end of Shaoxing, there is silk has shallow black colour, called barely red. Is it similar to *tuihong*? (Song Dynasty; *Laoxueanxubiji*; Lu, You)

- (426) **粉红**。银红。桃红。大红。真红。（元；老乞大新释）
Fenhong. Silvery red. Peachy red. Pure red. Dark red. (Yuan Dynasty; *Laoqidaxinshi*)

(425) is the earliest occurrence of *fenhong* in CCL, which refers to a shallow *red*. In (426), it is clear that *fen* is used as the subdivision of *hong*. In the Ming Dynasty, *fenhong* is used with the suffix *se* 'colour' indicating it becomes a colour term, as (427) shows:

- (427) [...] 穿了**粉红色**编裂缝的一领屯绢圆领 [...]（明；醒世姻缘传）
 [...] wears round-neck collar with **fenhongse** braided seams [...] (Ming Dynasty; *Xingshiyinyuanzhuan*)

Before LModC, *fense* refers to the colour of white face powders, and thus it refers to *white*. However, *fen(se)* as a shortened form of *fenhong(se)* refers to the pink colour together with *fenhong(se)* in LModC. For example:

- (428) 在清澈的湖面上，荷花出水立叶，次第开放，红莲、白莲、**粉莲色**彩缤纷，令人赏心悦目。（2001；报刊 新华社）
 In the clear surface of the lake, lotus out of the water leaves, opening, red lotus, white lotus, **fen** lotus colorful, pleasing to the eye. (2001; Newspaper *Xinhuashe*)
- (429) 漫步樱花大道，放眼望去，仿若云海，微风吹过，落樱缤纷，好似下了一场**粉色**的雨。（2010s；网络语料，微信公众号）
 Walking cherry blossom avenue, looking out, as if the sea of clouds, the breeze blew, falling cherry blossom colorful, as if a **fen** rain. (2010s; Wechat subscription)

(428) and (429) show that *fen* and *fense* refer to the colour intermediate between white and red (the colour of most lotus and cherry blossom is pink). The disappearance of *hong* in *fen(se)* shows that *fen* is not only a subcategory of red but becomes an independent colour term. Since the colour term originates from EModC, the previous historical periods are not discussed.

7.2.2 Early Modern Chinese

According to CCL, *fenhong* has one metaphorical meaning of Romance in this period.

7.2.2.1 Romance

CCL gives an example of the metaphorical meaning of Romance:

- (430) 把**粉红**情骂做了鸦青钞，生拆散凤友鸾交。（元；全元曲 散曲）
 Make the **fenhong** love as black bills, breaking up the friendships. (Yuan Dynasty; *Quanyuanqu sanqu*)

In (430), the romantic relationship is described as *fenhong*. This is probably because *fenhong*'s metonymic basis of red face powder is figuratively associated with beautiful young females, who are usually mentioned in romantic relationships in literature. Either females wearing makeup (white face powders or blushers) or females' reddish blush often indicate romantic relationships.

7.2.3 Late Modern Chinese

In this period, the metaphorical meaning of Romance is continuously used, which is discussed in 7.2.3.1. There are three emerging metaphorical meanings of Beauty, Femininity and Optimism, which are shown in 7.2.3.2, 7.2.3.3 and 7.2.3.4.

7.2.3.1 Romance

This metaphorical meaning is continuously used as the previous period. In this period, CCL gives more examples:

- (431) 他尤其拿手讲**粉红**故事（当代；九重恩怨；梁凤仪）
 He is particularly good at telling **fenhong** stories (Contemporary; *Jiuchongenyuan*; Liang, Fengyi)
- (432) [...] 也就在相当长一段时间里断绝了**粉红色的**恋爱生活（当代；非诚勿扰）
 [...] also cut off from **fenhongse** love life for quite a long time
 (Contemporary; *Feichengwurao*)
- (433) 然后发现自己有变成花痴色女的危险倾向，赶紧哗啦啦的漱口，把一脑袋**粉红**泡泡都摇晃出去。（当代；非诚勿扰）

Then, realising that she was in danger of turning into a nymphomaniacal woman, she rinsed her mouth and shook out all the **fenhong** bubbles in her head. (Contemporary; *Feichengwurao*)

- (434) 天天每晚都带着**粉红色的**梦入睡。(当代; 上海宝贝; 卫慧)
Go to sleep with **fenhongse** dreams every night. (Contemporary; *Shanghaibaobei*; Wei, Hui)

- (435) 何顿无疑是能够悍然入侵少女**粉红色**梦境的那种海盗。(1993; 报刊作家文摘)
Dun He is certainly the kind of pirate who can brazenly invade a young girl's **fenhongse** dreams.

In these sentences, *fenhong(se)* is used as an adjective to refer to a romantic relationship.

(435) also shows that *fenhongse* is especially related to young females. CCL has another example:

- (436) 一位长得不美而十几年来值得丈夫敬爱的中年妇女说: “夫妻之爱, 固然在有内在的情感和其它的条例, 但长期地保持女性化的动作, 保持女性的整洁与美丽是必要的。我时常变换卧室的气氛; 装上能唤起丈夫情感的**粉红色**灯罩, 将卧室布置得罗曼蒂克, 穿上初恋的衣服到恋爱时到过的地方去重温旧梦, 时常给丈夫以新鲜感, 使他感到美的魅力。” (1994; 报刊精选)
A middle-aged woman who was unattractive but still had her husband's affection for more than ten years said: 'Love between husband and wife is, of course, based on inner emotions and other regulations, but it is necessary to maintain feminine movements, feminine neatness and beauty over a long period of time. I change the atmosphere of my bedroom from time to time; I put on **fenhong** lampshades that evoke my husband's emotions, I decorate my bedroom in a romantic way, I wear the clothes of my first love and go to the places I visited when I was in love to relive old dreams, and I always give my husband a sense of freshness and beauty.' (1994; Newspaper Selection)

In (436), *fenhongse* is used in its literal meaning but the expressions of 'evoke my husband's emotions' and 'in a romantic way' show that *fenhongse* has an extended implication of romance and the beauty and young age of females.

7.2.3.2 Beauty

As mentioned in 7.2.1, *fenhong* has a figurative sense of the beauty of women because it is used to describe the colour of women's makeup. For example:

- (437) 比**粉红**佳人更放克摇滚的媒体[...] (2010s; 网络语料 中文维基)
Media more funk-rock than **Fenhong** Pretty [...] (2010s; Chinese Wiki)

- (438) [...] 居然还敢调侃我薇@赵薇 美腻的**粉红**女郎造型，简直是坐等挨揍的节奏啊！（2010s；网络语料 微博）
I can't believe you dare to flirt with my Wei @ Wei Zhao's beautiful **fenhong** girl look, it's almost like you're waiting to get beaten up! (2010s; Weibo)

- (439) 正在北京电视台二次播出的《**粉红**女郎》脱骨于朱德庸的漫画《涩女郎》。改编后的作品为原来的灰色幽默蒙上了**粉红**面纱。（2003；报刊 新华社）
The **Fenhong** Nvlang (*Pink Girl*), which is being broadcast for the second time on Beijing TV, is based on Zhu Deyong's comic strip *Senvlang*. The adaptation puts a **fenhong** veil on the original grey humour. (2003; Newspaper *Xinhuashe*)

In (437) and (438), *fenhong* is used to describe beautiful women (pretty) and girl, indicating it metaphorically refers to the beauty and youth of women. In the latter part of (439), *fenhong* describes a veil, which shows a further metaphorical use of it.

- (440) 而今天，我透过小孙女灿烂而**粉红**的笑，我似乎第一次把它的容颜、神韵、风姿领略得更加清晰、流畅。（2010；报刊 人民日报）
And today, through my little granddaughter's bright, **fenhong** smile, I seem for the first time to appreciate its face, its charm, its grace, more clearly and smoothly. (2010; Newspaper *Renminribao*)

In (440), *fenhong* is used to describe the smile of an infant girl to express beauty. It shows that *fenhong* in the sense of beauty has further metaphorical development since it is independent of the noun related to beautiful and young women.

7.2.3.3 Femininity

Fenhong has the connotation of femininity because the blush powder makeup is only worn by females, and the blush of young women is often used to express their shyness and beauty, as mentioned in 7.2.1. This connotation develops into the metaphorical meaning of Femininity. For example:

- (441) [...] 以一个**粉红**女性的肩膀，扛起率领群众抗击寇仇的千钧重担。（1995；报刊 人民日报）
[...] with the shoulders of a **fenhong** woman, she carried the burden of leading the masses in the fight against the invaders. (1995; Newspaper *Renminribao*)
- (442) 据报道，增加女性人手参与“立法院”公关是吕秀莲提出的，台媒称其为“**粉红**兵团”，主要负责台军新闻联络以及在台“立法院”的公关工作。（当代；网络语料 网页）

It has been reported that the idea of increasing the number of women involved in PR for the Legislative Yuan was proposed by Lu Hsiu-lien, known in the Taiwanese media as the ‘**fenhong** bingtuan’ (pink corps), which is mainly responsible for press liaison and PR work for the TNA in the Legislative Yuan. (Contemporary; Webpage)

(441) and (442) show that *fenhong* is used to refer to femininity in a neutral tone. This metaphorical meaning is probably an extended development of *fenhong*’s association with femininity as 7.2.1 discusses.

7.2.3.4 Optimism

This metaphorical meaning is found in CCL:

- (443) 找到她便是找到了出路，一种**粉红色的**道路，象是一条花径似的，两旁都是杜鹃与玫瑰。（现代：老舍长篇）
To find her was to find a way out, a kind of **fenhongse** road, like a path of flowers, lined with rhododendrons and roses. (Modern times; Long novels of *Laoshe*)

- (444) “当然，颜色能表现感情。诗人，读过《色彩》这首诗吗？”罗浩盘腿坐在我面前，双手撑膝，前额几乎碰着我的前额，低吟起来：“自从绿给了我发展，红给了我热情，黄教我以忠义，**粉红**赐我以希望……”（1997；报刊 作家文摘）
‘Of course, colour shows emotion. Poet, ever read the poem Colours?’ Hao Luo sat cross-legged in front of me, hands on his knees, forehead almost touching mine, and whispered, ‘Since green gave me development, red gave me passion, yellow taught me loyalty, **fenhong** gave me hope ……’ (1997; Newspaper *Zuojiawenzhai*)

- (445) **粉红色的**梦幻变成了金色的辉煌（当代：谁认识马云）
A **fenhongse** dream turned to a golden splendour (Contemporary; *Shuirenshimayun*)

(443), (444) and (445) show the metaphorical meaning of Optimism. (443) indicates the motivation for this metaphorical meaning probably is the metonymic basis of flower. The *fenhongse* road is described as a path of flowers. In LModC, a road with flowers metaphorically means a glorious road to success. (444) and (445) show that *fen(hong)(se)* has the metaphorical meaning of Optimism when it is associated with hope and dream.

7.2.4 Summary

The diachronic investigation of each metaphorical sense reveals different stages of their metaphorical development:

Romance: In EModC, *fen(hong)(se)* is metaphorically used to refer to romantic relationship probably because its metonymic basis of red face powder is figuratively associated with beautiful young females, who are usually mentioned in romantic relationships in literature. In LModC, this metaphorical meaning continues to be used.

Beauty: *Fen(hong)(se)* has the connotation of beauty etymologically. In LModC, *fen(hong)(se)* expresses the metaphorical meaning of beauty and are used to describe a woman.

Femininity: *Fen(hong)(se)* has the connotation of femininity etymologically. In LModC, *fen(hong)(se)* is metaphorically used to refer to femininity.

Optimism: In LModC, *fen(hong)(se)* and the connotation of optimism are explicit. In this period, *fen(hong)(se)* expresses the metaphorical meaning of Optimism and is used to describe a dream.

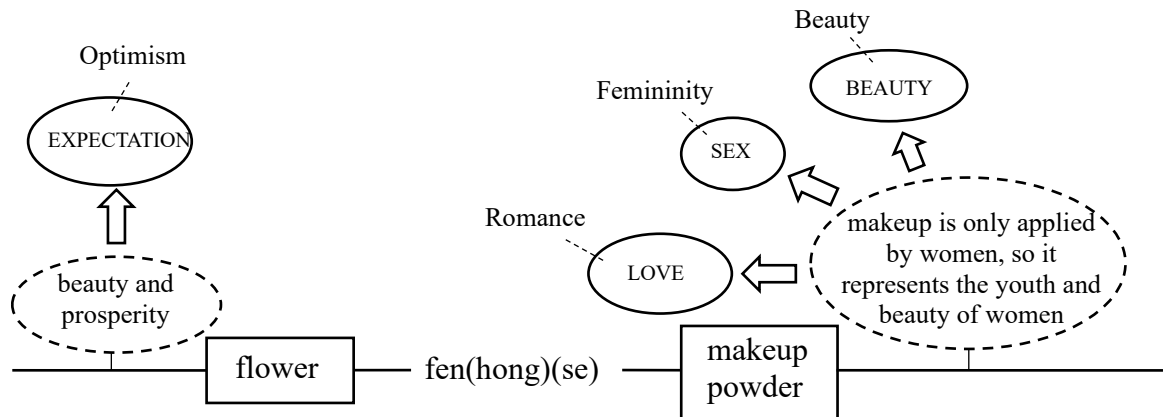
Table 7.2 summarises the metaphorical meanings of *fen(hong)(se)* this study found in four historical periods.

Table 7.2 Metaphorical meanings of *fen(hong)(se)* in four historical periods

	Metaphorical meaning	Target domain	Occurrence in historical periods
1	Romance	2D01 EMOTION	EModC, LModC
2	Beauty	2B12 BEAUTY AND UGLINESS	LModC
3	Femininity	1B04 BIOLOGICAL SEX	LModC
4	Optimism	2A26 EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION	LModC

As Table 7.2 shows, In EModC, *fen(hong)(se)* has one metaphorical meaning of Romance in EMOTION. In LModC, *fen(hong)(se)* four metaphorical meanings of Romance in EMOTION, Beauty in BEAUTY AND UGLINESS, Femininity in BIOLOGICAL SEX and Optimism in EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION.

Based on the analysis of metaphorical meanings in sections 7.1.1 and 7.1.2 and their developments shown in Table 7.2, Figure 7.2 shows the course of the routes taken during the development of the metaphorical meanings:

Figure 7.2 Network of metaphorical meanings of *fen(hong)(se)*

Fen(hong)(se) has two metonymic bases, the flower and makeup powder. The metonymic basis of makeup powder has the connotation of representing beauty and youth of women. This connotation is generalised into the domains of BEAUTY, SEX and LOVE, which develops into the metaphorical meaning of Beauty, Femininity and Romance. The metonymic basis flower has the connotation of beauty and prosperity, which is generalised into the domain of EXPECTATION and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Optimism.

7.3 Comparison of *pink* and *fen(hong)(se)*

Table 7.3 shows the comparison of metaphorical meanings of *pink* and *fen(hong)(se)*.

Table 7.3 Comparison of metaphorical meanings between *pink* and *fen(hong)(se)*

Target domain	Source domain	Metaphorical meaning	Motivation
1B04 BIOLOGICAL SEX	<i>pink</i>	Femininity	cultural tradition
1B04 BIOLOGICAL SEX	<i>fen(hong)(se)</i>	Femininity	metonymic basis of face powder
1I06 SEXUAL RELATIONS	<i>pink</i>	Homosexuality	cultural event
2A26 EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION	<i>pink, fen(hong)(se)</i>	Optimism	metonymic basis of flower
2B12 BEAUTY AND UGLINESS	<i>fen(hong)(se)</i>	Beauty	metonymic basis of face powder
2D01 EMOTION	<i>fen(hong)(se)</i>	Romance	metonymic basis of face powder
3D03 POLITICS	<i>pink</i>	Politics	relationship with red
3M03 THE ARTS	<i>pink</i>	Pornography	language interaction

According to Table 7.3, there are two metaphorical meanings shared by *pink* and *fen(hong)(se)*, which are Femininity in BIOLOGICAL SEX and Optimism in EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION. The motivations for *pink* and *fen(hong)(se)* developing the metaphorical meaning of Femininity are different. *Fen(hong)(se)* refers to Femininity because pink

makeup powder is used by women to redden the cheeks. The reason why *pink* refers to Femininity is uncertain. It could be a coincidence of cultural factors since the motivations of *pink* and *fen(hong)(se)* for developing this metaphorical meaning are culturally specific. There is no evidence showing whether it is because of the interaction of English and Chinese in this period. Thus, the present study assumes that this similarity is a coincidence to a large extent. The shared metaphorical meaning of Optimism is probably motivated by the same metonymic basis of flower which has the same connotation of positivity due to the shared experience of positive feelings brought by flowers with pleasant appearance (esp. the colours) and fragrance. The connotation is generalised into the metaphorical meaning of Optimism in EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION, motivated by the generic conceptualisation of FEELING OF PLANTS IS FEELING OF OTHERS.

Pink and *fen(hong)(se)* have culturally specific connotations that develop into different metaphorical meanings because of cultural factors. For example, the motivation for the metaphorical meaning of Homosexuality is absent in Chinese culture so *fen(hong)(se)* does not develop the metaphorical meaning. The motivation for the metaphorical meaning of Romance is the cultural background that females wearing red makeup powder or having a reddish blush often indicates a romantic relationship, which is absent in English, so *pink* does not develop this metaphorical meaning.

7.4 *Peach(y)*

7.4.1 presents the etymological metonymy and cultural connotations of *peach(y)* and 7.4.2 discusses *peach(y)* in LModE. 7.4.3 summarises the metaphorical meanings and the metaphorical development of *peach(y)*.

7.4.1 Etymological metonymy and cultural connotations

Lindsey and Brown (2014) report on the colour lexicon of American English and identify *peach* as one of the candidates to join the BCTs. Mylonas and MacDonald (2015) conduct an unconstrained colour naming experiment and find that *peach* is in the 17th position of their index of basicness but does not qualify as a BCT. Whether or not *peach* is regarded as a BCT, it is a colour term that is frequently used to refer to the yellowish-pink hue, like the colour of a peach. According to the OED, *peachy* (ADJECTIVE) is an adjective meaning having the nature or appearance of a peach, especially the colour, texture or flavour. Since it can refer to the colour of the peach, it is also investigated as a form of the colour term together with *peach* in the present study.

According to the OED, *peach* (NOUN¹ & ADJECTIVE) is a borrowing from French, yet there is no indication in the dictionary that any connotation accompanied the borrowing into English. *Peach* originally refers to the tree *Prunus persica* which has pink flowers and also refers to its fruit having a downy yellow skin flushed with red in ME, the origin of which is a borrowed word from French. OED shows that *peach* has an extended use of ‘a particularly fine or desirable person or thing, *esp.* an attractive young woman; an exceptionally good example of its kind.’ (*peach*, NOUN¹ & ADJECTIVE II.4.) in LModE. This figurative meaning is similar to *rose*’s metaphorical sense of a peerless or matchless person (see 5.4.1). However, different from the sense of *rose* that derives from the connotation of the rose flower, the figurative meaning of *peach* is probably extended from the connotations of the fruit peach rather than the flower peach because the fruit is the salient feature of this plant. This is assumed from the first entry (*peach*, NOUN¹ & ADJECTIVE I.1.) explaining that the peach tree is planted chiefly for its fruit, and *peach* referring to the fruit is used almost as early as it refers to the whole plant as the second entry (*peach*, NOUN¹ & ADJECTIVE I.2.) shows. The fruit (*peach*, NOUN 7.b. and 7.c.) has the extended meanings of an immaterial product and the advantage, benefit, enjoyment or profit, which could develop the positive connotation of *peach* being regarded as the finest production of the plant. The underlying conceptualisation could be that the fruit is the most important and finest part of one plant since the fruit can be a food resource for humans.

Peach colour (NOUN & ADJECTIVE) refers to both the yellowish-pink colour of the fruit peach and the rose-pink colour of peach blossom in EModE. In the same period, *peachy* (ADJECTIVE 1.), which is derived from *peach* with the -y suffix, refers to the nature or appearance of a peach, especially in colour, texture or flavour in EModE. Although *peachy* referring to the appearance is mainly characterised by the colour, it also refers to other attributes, so it is not a complete colour term. However, when it is used to describe the cheeks, it largely refers to the reddish colour of the complexion. OED provides some examples:

- (446) Ear. Pluralitie of husbands Would be thought on. Flo. Yes, and Seraglio’s too For downy, **peachy** chins. (OED; ?1655)
- (447) A delicate, **peachy**, bloom of complexion, very common in England. (OED; 1775)
- (448) Her fresh, soft, **peachy** complexion was really tempting. (OED; 1853)

It is shown that *peachy* mainly refers to the reddish colour of the complexion, though it may also refer to the downy hair on the face. In (446), (447) and (448), it is clear that the peachy complexion is indicative of beauty.

Peach also refers to the colour (peach, NOUN¹ & ADJECTIVE II.6) in LModE. The phrase *peaches and cream* (peach, NOUN¹ & ADJECTIVE II.7.a.) refers to creamy skin with downy pink cheeks in LModE, which shows that peach refers to the colour. This phrase (peach, NOUN¹ & ADJECTIVE II.7.b.) has a figurative meaning of ‘a fine, easy, or delightful thing; a highly pleasant state of affairs’ in LModE, which develops from the metonymic bases of the pink cheeks. The conceptualisation could be a peachy hue appearing on people’s faces when they are delighted.

OED shows that *peachy* refers to excellent, marvellous, great, or the attractiveness and desirableness of a woman in a colloquial sense in LModE. The present study argues that this entry contains two related but different metaphorical meanings of *peach(y)*. One is excellent, marvellous, great things or affairs, and the other is the attractiveness and desirableness of a woman. They seem to relate to the metaphorical meanings of ‘a particularly fine or desirable person or thing, *esp.* an attractive young woman; an exceptionally good example of its kind’ of the peach fruit and ‘a fine, easy, or delightful thing; a highly pleasant state of affairs’ of the colour of the reddish complexion. It is assumed that *peachy*’s metaphorical meaning of excellent, marvellous, great things or affairs is more likely to be of the colour term since it is similar to the figurative meaning of *peaches and cream* that has the metonymic basis of the complexion. Although the metaphorical meaning of the attractiveness and desirableness of a woman is similar to the figurative meaning of the peach fruit, *peachy* referring to the complexion that has the connotation of beauty can also develop into this metaphorical meaning.

Nevertheless, the connotations of the beauty and attractiveness of a woman and the pleasant things or the state of affairs, which are motivated by the peachy complexion, develop the metaphorical meanings of the colour term *peach(y)*.

7.4.2 *Peach(y)* in Late Modern English

OED, HTE and MM show that *peach(y)* has the metaphorical meanings of Excellent and Beauty of a Woman in LModE.

7.4.2.1 Excellence

In LModE, *peachy* developed its metaphorical meaning of Excellence. For example:

- (449) She's a dear; I'm crazy about her. Went to St. Luke's in the evening to see Helen. She's as thin as a toothpick, but we had a **peachy** gossip.
(ARCHER 2019; 1913; Diary, 1913. Papers, 1890–1963. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute; Schoedler, Lillian)

As discussed in 7.4.1, it is assumed that this metaphorical meaning of *peachy* derives from the metonymic bases of the pink cheeks, which has the connotation of referring to a delightful thing or a pleasant state of an affair because a peachy hue often appears on people's faces when they are delighted.

7.4.2.2 Beauty of a Woman

When *peach(y)* refers to skin colours, it is often figuratively used to show the beauty of a woman. For example:

- (450) Roman's sister was in her mid-twenties, enchantingly pretty, petite and slender, with short, shining dark curls and **peachy** skin. (BNC; 1993; Calypso's Island; Ash, Rosalie)
- (451) I know, of course, your stock descriptives: the melting eye, the coral lip, the **peachy** cheek, the raven tress; but these were coined for mortal woman - and this was not one of them. (BNC; 1905; Gulliver of Mars; Arnold, Edwin Lester Linden)

Although *peachy* is used in its literal colour sense in (450) and (451), it is used to describe the beauty of a woman, which shows that *peachy* is associated with beauty.

- (452) She was a very tall and very fair and dazzlingly beautiful creature whose skin was goose-pimpled under the impact of McIlvanney's air conditioning which was set to a level that might have made a penguin shiver. 'Hi!' she said enthusiastically. 'You've got to be Nick! Matt's expecting you. He's right outside.' The girl, who looked as though she had been made in heaven out of **peaches and cream**, was wearing a few pieces of string arranged as a bikini, high heels, the goose-pimples, and nothing else. (BNC; 1985–1994; Crackdown; Corwell, Bernard)
- (453) By now the '**peaches and cream**' teenager was in her forties, and grey haired, with nine children to feed and clothe. (BNC; 1985–1994; Getting things done; Burrows, Eva)

In (452) and (453), it is shown that the phrase *peaches and cream* with the metonymic basis of the complexion metaphorically refers to the beauty of a woman. We can compare this metaphorical sense with the fruit peach's metaphorical meaning of the attractiveness of a woman. For example:

- (454) '[...] I'd call her an eyeful, Kate. **Peachy**.' 'Yes.' She muttered, her face becoming red because she felt embarrassed.' (BNC; 1987; The Children of Dynmouth; Trevor, William)

Peachy in (454) refers to the attractiveness of the woman, used as the synonym of 'eyeful'. The fruit peach has the figurative meaning of a particularly fine or desirable person or thing probably because the fruit is regarded as the most desirable part of the plant. Thus, the metaphorical meaning can be described as being attractive as a peach rather than being peach in colour. In contrast, when *peach(y)* is used to describe the colour of the complexion, it emphasises the beauty of a woman based on the colour of the cheeks rather than her attractiveness compared to the fruit peach.

7.4.3 Summary

The diachronic investigation of each metaphorical sense reveals different stages of their metaphorical development:

Excellence: Peach(y) has the connotation of 'the pleasant things or the state of affairs'. In LModE, *peach(y)* is metaphorically used to express the metaphorical meaning of Excellence and describe gossip.

Beauty of a Woman: In LModE, the metonymic bases of cheeks and the colour *peachy* are explicit, and the connotation of beauty is implied by the colour. In this period, *peaches and cream* is metaphorically used to express the metaphorical meaning of Beauty and describe a woman.

Table 7.4 shows that the metaphorical meanings of *peach(y)* this study found in four historical periods.

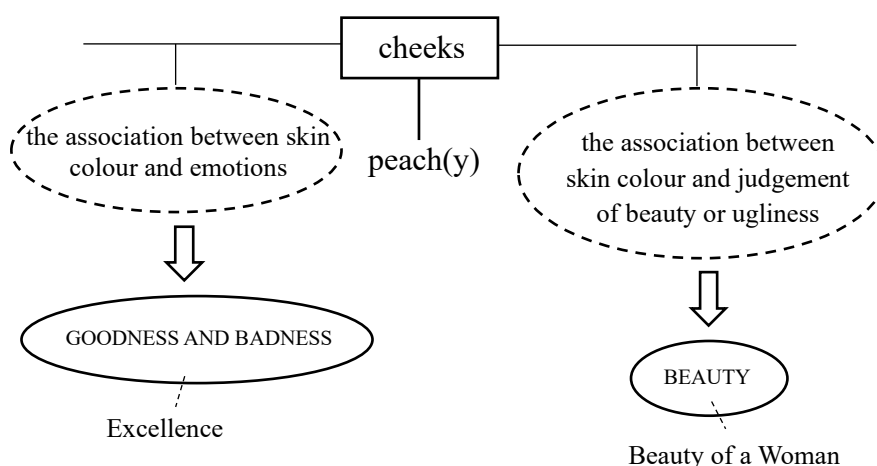
Table 7.4 Metaphorical meanings of *peach(y)* in four historical periods

	Metaphorical meaning	Target domain	Occurrence in historical periods
1	Excellence	2C01 GOOD	LModE
2	Beauty of a Woman	2B12 BEAUTY AND UGLINESS	LModE

As Table 7.4 shows, *peach(y)* has two metaphorical meanings in LModE (both are supported by the corpora). In LModE, Excellent in GOOD and Beauty of a Woman in BEAUTY AND UGLINESS are developed.

Based on the analysis of metaphorical meanings in sections 7.4.1 and 7.4.2 and their developments shown in Table 7.3, Figure 7.3 shows the course of the routes taken during the development of the metaphorical meanings:

Figure 7.3 Network of metaphorical meanings of *peach(y)*



Peach(y) is surrounded by the metonymic bases of cheeks. The metonymic basis generates the connotations of emotions and beauty. The connotation of emotions is generalised to the domain of GOODNESS AND BADNESS and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Excellence. The connotation of beauty is generalised to the domain of BEAUTY and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Beauty of a Woman.

7.5 *Tao(hua)se* 桃(花)色

7.5.1 presents the etymological metonymy and cultural connotations of *tao(hua)se*. 7.5.2 and 7.5.3 discuss *taohuase* in MC and EModC. 7.5.4 shows *tao(hua)se* in LModC. 7.5.5 summarises the metaphorical meanings and the metaphorical development of *tao(hua)se*.

7.5.1 Etymological metonymy and cultural connotations

According to *Dacidian*, *tao* (桃) refers to the peach tree and peach, the fruit in OC, and it individually refers to the peach blossom in MC. More commonly, the peach blossom is called *taohua* (*tao* ‘peach’ + *hua* ‘flower’) from MC. With the suffix *se* ‘colour’, *taohuase*

(桃花色) refers to the colour of the peach blossom, which is *fenhongse* ‘pink’. *Tao*se (lit. ‘peach colour’) is a shortened term that refers to the colour of the peach blossom. Different from *peach(y)* that refers to the colour of the fruit peach, *tao(hua)*se refers to the colour of the flower because the expressions in *Dacidian* about the colour are all related to the flower *taohua* and the description of *tao(hua)*se is about the colour pink without yellow rather than that of *peach(y)* which contains the yellow hue of the fruit.

Although *tao(hua)*se is the colour of the flower rather than the fruit, the cultural connotations of the colour derive or are influenced by the whole plant *tao*. Xiang (2021) studies the peach culture in the Eastern Asian cultural circle. The peach, native to China, developed rich connotations in Chinese culture, which was then brought to ancient Japan and Korea with the cultural communication of peach culture. In the early period of OC, *tao* is used as an image which expresses the praise of love, marriage and the beauty of the new couple in the poetry. In MC, *taohua* is commonly used to compare the beauty of a woman or the beauty of the makeup of a woman by poets. It is also often associated with love and marriage. Xiang proposes that the association between *taohua* and love and marriage is because of the beautiful appearance of *taohua* and its fecundity, which probably derives from *taohua* representing spring and beauty. In antiquity, the beauty of a woman, romantic relationship, procreation, and marriage are often related (2021: 22–24). Xiang claims that the cultural connotations of *tao* originate from reproduction worship based on the observation of *tao*’s exuberance and ability to reproduce and the similarity between the fruit and the female sexual organ. *Tao* representing reproduction is a cultural connotation shared in Eastern Asian cultural circle (2021: 78–79).

In Chinese culture, it is seen that *taohua* (peach blossom) is usually used to describe the beauty of a woman, which is associated with love and marriage. *Tao* (the fruit) represents the procreation of a woman. Although *taohua* and *tao* are different parts of the plant, they are inherently related to plant reproduction. The beauty of the peach blossom and the fecundity of the peach fruit correspond to the advocacy of the beauty of a new couple and the reproduction of the family. Thus, *taose* develops an erotic sense because *taohua* represents beauty, love and marriage, and this sense is also influenced by the fruit *tao* whose appearance resembles the sexual organ of females and is gradually associated with erotic senses. *Tao*’s erotic sense also occurs in Japanese culture, which derives from the fruit representing reproduction shared in Eastern Asian cultural circle. It then influences *pink* to develop the erotic sense in Japanese so *pink film* refers to pornography (see 7.1.2.2).

According to the expressions of *tao* and *taohua* in *Dacidian*, the colour of *taohua* is often used to describe the reddish blush of a woman, and thus *taohua* is often compared to the face of a woman to describe the beauty of a woman in the Tang dynasty. *Taosai* (lit. ‘peachy face’ 桃腮), *taohualian* (‘peach blossom face’ 桃花脸), *taoxingsai* (‘peach and apricot blossom face’ 桃杏腮) and *taolise* (‘peach and plum blossom colour’ 桃李色) all refer to the peachy complexion, which is extended to beauty like the peach blossom. *Taohuarenmian* (‘peach blossom human face’ 桃花人面) shows that *taohua* is compared to the human face, which means the beauty of a woman. In addition, *taohua* is made into the makeup blush powder, which is called *taohuafen* (‘peach blossom powder’ 桃花粉). *Taohuamian* (‘peach blossom face’ 桃花面) and *taohuazhuang* (‘peach blossom makeup’ 桃花妆) refer to a kind of makeup that has peachy blush, which is extended to the appearance of beauty.

Influenced by the cultural connotation of beauty, love, marriage and reproduction, *taohua* develops a connotation of a love affair. *Taohuayun* (‘peach blossom destiny’ 桃花运) refers to luck in love affairs and good luck. *Taohuayan* (‘peach blossom eye’ 桃花眼) refers to passionate and flirtatious eyes. Influenced by *taohua*, *taohuase* also develops the connotation of describing romantic love.

7.5.2 *Taohuase* in Middle Chinese

According to *Dacidian*, *taohua* is used to describe the reddish blush of cheeks, and thus it is extended to refer to the beauty of a woman.

7.5.2.1 (beauty of a woman)

Taose is a colour term derives from *taohuase* (‘the colour of peach blossom’), indicating that its metonymy is the pinkish blossom *taohua*. In EModC, *taohua* is widely used to describe a woman’s appearance, indicating the cheeks having the blush colour as the colour of *taohua*. For example:

(455) 脸似桃花光灼灼，眉如细柳色辉辉（五代；敦煌变文选）
 (A woman’s) face is like **taohua** that glows and eyebrows like a willow that are colourful (the Five Dynasties; *Dunhuanbianwenxuan*)

(456) 而貌如桃花（北宋；太平广记）
 And (a woman’s) look is like **taohua** (Northern Song Dynasty; *Taipingguangji*)

- (457) 人面桃花 (北宋; 柳永词)
Human face is like **taohua** (Northern Song Dynasty; *Liuyongci*)
- (458) 依旧桃花面, 频低柳叶眉。(唐; 全唐诗)
(A woman) still has a **taohua** face; the eyebrows are often lowered. (Tang Dynasty; *Quantangshi*)
- (459) 此髮如是人必妙好。面如桃花色。眼如明珠。(大藏經 第 25 卷)
It must be very nice to have that kind of hair. The face is like the **taohuase** (colour of peach blossoms). The eyes are like bright beads. (Song Dynasty; *Dazangjing* Volume 25)

In (455), (456) and (457), the good appearance of a woman is compared to the *taohua* based on the shared pink colour of *taohua* and the blush. Although *taohua* is used in its literal meaning, they show the association with the colour of a woman's face (the beauty of women) and the colour of the peach blossom. Thus, *taohua* is figuratively used for the beauty of a woman. In (458), *taohua* face is figuratively used to refer to the beauty of a woman. (459) indicates that the similarity between the woman's face and the peach blossom is in their colour.

In addition, *taohuafen* (lit. 'the powder of peach blossom') is used as the blush makeup powder for women, as the sentence (460) shows:

- (460) 燕脂, 纣制, 以红蓝汁凝而为之。官赐宫人涂之, 号为桃花粉。(北宋; 云麓漫钞; 赵彦卫)
Yanzhi, which is made by Zhou, condensed with red and blue juice. Officials gave the court to wear it, called **taohuafen**. (Northern; *Yunlumichao*; Zhao, Yanwei)

7.5.3 *Taohuase* in Early Modern Chinese

Taohuase's extended meaning of referring to female beauty is continuously used in this period.

7.5.3.1 (beauty of a woman), (love affair)

In this period, *taohuase* is continuously used to describe the cheeks of a beautiful woman as in the previous period. For example:

- (461) 轻注香腮, 却是桃花色。(南宋; 全宋词)
The fragrant cheeks are **taohuase**. (Southern Song Dynasty; *Quansongci*)

- (462) 微晕红潮一线，拂拂**桃腮**熟。群芳难逐。天香国艳，试比春兰共秋菊。（南宋；全宋词）

The blush is like a line of red tide, flick the **taosai** ('peachy cheeks'). It's hard to chase after all the flowers. The fragrance of heaven and the splendor of the country are more beautiful than spring orchids and autumn chrysanthemums. (Southern Song Dynasty; *Quansongci*)

- (463) [...] 修眉玉颊**桃花色**。（明；四库全书 珊瑚网；汪珂玉）

The beautiful eyebrows and the cheeks are **taohuase**. (Ming Dynasty; *Sikuquanshu shanhuwang*; Wang, Keyu)

(461) indicates that cheeks are *taohuase*. In (462) and (463), *taosai* ('peachy cheeks') and *taohuase* of cheeks are figuratively used to show the beauty of a woman.

As mentioned in 7.4.2.1, *taohuafen* (lit. 'the powder of peach blossom') refers to the makeup blush powder. For example:

- (464) 胭脂縱似**桃花色** [...]（四库全书 御选宋金元明四朝诗）

Rouge is like the color of **taohuase** [...] (*Sikuquanshu* – poems selected by the emperor from the four dynasties of Song, Jin, Yuan and Ming)

- (465) 御史中丞视公有张京兆之风，尝为妻合脂与粉，调以涂之，号“**桃花面**” [...]（元；解醒语；李材）

Yushizhongcheng (an official position) saw you having the style of Jingzhao Zhang, and tried to combine grease and powder for his wife, mixing them and applying them, with the name '**taohuamian**' ('peach blossom face'). (Yuan Dynasty; *Xiechengyu*; Li, Cai)

(464) shows that the blush powder is like *taohuase*. In (465), *taohuamian* refers to the appearance of wearing the blush makeup.

In this period, *taohuase* refers to the cheeks like the colour of the peach blossom, and also the blush makeup powder, both of which are figuratively used to describe the beauty of a woman. However, the figurative meaning is expressed by *taohuase* and the metonymic bases of cheeks, which means that *taohuase* does not fully develop the metaphorical meaning of the beauty of a woman. Even if so, it is clear that *taohuase* is associated with a woman and the beauty of a woman due to the reddish blush on the cheeks or the blush makeup powder.

Taohua's connotation of the beauty and voluptuousness of a woman further gives rise to its connotation of love affair, which is expressed by the phrases of *taohuayan* and *taohuayun*. For example:

- (466) 詩曰：女人生帶**桃花眼**，花下羅紋細細深。此相定知噴水散，不用良媒自有親。（四库全书 玉管照神局）

Poetry says: 'A woman is born with **taohuayan** ('peach blossom eyes'), and the lines under the blossoms are very thin and deep. The woman's face is a sure sign that the spray of water will disperse, and she will have her own family without the need of a good matchmaker. (*Sikuquanshu yuguanzhaoshenjv*)

- (467) 一双**桃花眼**眼似秋波（清；小八义）

A pair of **taohuayan** look like autumn waves (Qing Dynasty; *Xiaobayi*)

- (468) 也是他**桃花运**尽，合当变更，一年之后，生出一段事端来。（明；醒世恒言；冯梦龙）

It is also his **taohuayun** ('luck of love') peach blossom luck is over, when the change, a year later, a period of trouble. (Ming Dynasty; *Xingshihengyan*; Feng, Menglong)

This connotation of *taohua* enables *taohuase* to refer to a love affair as well, which is discussed in 7.5.4.1.

7.5.4 *Tao(hua)se* in Late Modern Chinese

Dacidian shows that *taose* refers to the voluptuousness of a woman's face, and to describe a love affair and especially inappropriate relationships between men and women.

7.5.4.1 Love Affair

Taohuase's association with the beautiful and voluptuous appearance of women gives rise to the metaphorical meaning of Love Affair.

- (469) 她像一长藤萝缠绕在菖蒲的身上，水灵灵的大眼睛泛起了柔媚的春光，**桃花色**的双颊更显得红晕，藕荷色的旗袍下那丰满的胸脯剧烈地起伏。（1982；狼烟；刘绍棠）

She was like a long vine wrapped around the body of the calabash, her big watery eyes were flooded with soft spring light, her **taohuase** cheeks were even more flushed, and her plump breasts under the lotus root-colored cheongsam rose and fell violently. (1982; *Langyan*; Liu, Shaotang)

- (470) 现代都市的女孩们也成就了朱新建，朱新建又用一支风流笔画出美人不灭的**桃花色**。（2010s；网络语料 微信公众号）

The modern city girls also made Xinjian Zhu successful; Xinjian Zhu again used a flirtatious brush to paint the indestructible **taohuase** of the beauty. (2010s; Wechat subscription)

(471) 粉色本身就是**桃花色**，能够吸引异性的注意力，增添桃花运。

(2010s; 网络语料 微信公众号)

Pink itself is **taohuase**, which can attract the attention of the opposite sex and add **taohuayun** ('luck in love'). (2010s; Wechat subscription)

(472) 那一抹**桃花色**，带你穿越时空，走进一场让你笑，让你哭古代甜蜜爱情之旅！（2010s; 网络语料 社区问答）

That touch of **taohuase**, take you through time and space, into a make you laugh, make you cry ancient sweet love journey! (2010s; Community Q&A)

(469) and (470) shows that *taohuase* refers to the beauty and also the voluptuousness of a woman. However, *taohuase* in (469) is used with cheeks. In (470), *taohuase* is more metaphorically developed since it refers to the beauty of a woman without the metonymic bases of the cheeks, but it is still used in its literal meaning together with the 'brush to paint'. It also expresses that *taohuase* has the connotation of love affairs according to the 'flirtatious' in the sentence, which is more clearly reflected in (471) and (472).

Dacidian and CCL corpus show that *taose* refers to a love affair, especially the inappropriate relationship between men and women. For example:

(473) **桃色**的梦渐次褪色。王春翠终于喝了一杯爱情的苦酒。（1993；报刊作家文摘）

The **taose** dream fades. Wang Chuncui has finally drunk a cup of the bitter wine of love. (1993; Newspaper *Zuojiaawenzhai*)

(474) 她的丈夫也是医生,在生活上有过**桃色**艳遇（当代；当代世界文学名著鉴赏词典）

Her husband, also a doctor, had a **taose** affair in his life (Contemporary; Appreciative dictionary of contemporary world literature)

(475) 把他们俩曾共有过的青春爱情变成任人随意编排的**桃色**新闻（1993；报刊作家文摘）

Turning the youthful love they once shared into a **taose** news that can be made up at will (1993; Newspaper *Zuojiaawenzhai*)

(473) shows that *taose* describes romantic love. In (474) and (475), *taose* refers to inappropriate love affairs. Thus, *taose* develops a metaphorical meaning of Love Affair in LModC. In this sense, *taose* representing the beauty of a woman is metaphorically used to refer to inappropriate male-female romantic relationships. This is effectively sexism that blames female appearance for illicit love.

7.5.5 Summary

The diachronic investigation of each metaphorical sense reveals different stages of their metaphorical development:

Love Affair: In MC and EModC, *tao(hua)se* has the connotation of ‘beauty of a woman’, which further gives rise to its connotation of love affair. In LModC, *tao(hua)se* is metaphorically used to refer to Love Affair.

Table 7.5 shows that the metaphorical meanings of *tao(hua)se* this study found in four historical periods.

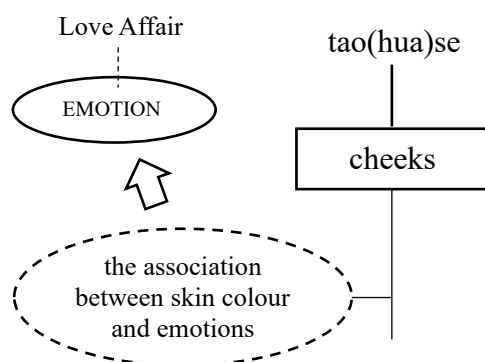
Table 7.5 Metaphorical meanings of *tao(hua)se* in four historical periods

	Metaphorical meaning	Target domain	Occurrence in historical periods
1	Love Affair	2D01 EMOTION	LModC

As Table 7.5 shows, *tao(hua)se* has one metaphorical meaning in LModC. Love Affair in EMOTION is developed in LModC.

Based on the analysis of metaphorical meanings in sections 7.5.1 to 7.5.4 and their developments shown in Table 7.4, Figure 7.4 shows the course of the routes taken during the development of the metaphorical meanings:

Figure 7.4 Network of metaphorical meanings of *tao(hua)se*



Tao(hua)se has the metonymic bases of cheeks, which has the connotation of the beauty and voluptuousness of a woman further gives rise to its connotation of love affair. The connotation is generalised to the domain of EMOTIONS and develops into the metaphorical meaning of Love Affair.

7.6 Comparison of *peach(y)* and *tao(hua)se*

Table 7.6 shows the comparison of metaphorical meanings of *peach(y)* and *tao(hua)se*.

Table 7.6 Comparison of metaphorical meanings between *peach(y)* and *tao(hua)se*

Target domain	Source domain	Metaphorical meaning	Motivation
2B12 BEAUTY AND UGLINESS	<i>peach(y)</i>	Beauty of a Woman	metonymic basis of skin
2C01 GOOD	<i>peach(y)</i>	Excellence	metonymic basis of skin
2D01 EMOTION	<i>tao(hua)se</i>	Love Affair	metonymic basis of skin

As Table 7.6 shows, *peach(y)* and *tao(hua)se* do not develop metaphorical meanings motivated by their etymological metonymies. Rather, their metaphorical meanings are motivated by the metonymic basis of skin. *Peach(y)* and *tao(hua)se* have no similarity in metaphorical meanings. The etymological metonymies of *peach(y)* and *tao(hua)se* both belong to the plant peach, but the former is the fruit and the latter is the flower. The colour of the peach fruit and the colour of peach blossom are both used to describe the reddish blush of the complexion, which often express the beauty of woman. Thus, *peach(y)* and *tao(hua)se* with the metonymic basis of skin have the same connotation of beauty. For *peach(y)*, the connotation is generalised into the metaphorical meaning of Beauty of a Woman in BEAUTY AND UGLINESS, motivated by the generic conceptualisation of SKIN COLOUR REPRESENTS BEAUTY. For *tao(hua)se*, the connotation of beauty does not develop into a metaphorical meaning, but it is extended to a connotation of voluptuousness of a woman. The connotation is then generalised into the metaphorical meaning of Love Affair in EMOTION. In addition, *peach(y)*'s metonymic basis of skin generates the connotation of referring to a delightful thing or a pleasant state of an affair due to the experience of emotions associated with complexion, which is generalised to the metaphorical meaning of Excellent in GOOD, motivated by the generic conceptualisation EMOTION INDICATES POSITIVITY OF AN AFFAIR.

7.7 *Beige*

7.7.1 presents the etymological metonymy and cultural connotations of *beige*, and 7.7.2 shows the metaphorical meanings of *beige* in Late Modern English. 7.7.3 summarises the metaphorical meanings and the metaphorical development of *beige*.

7.7.1 Etymological metonymy and cultural connotations

OED shows that *beige* is a borrowing from French (*beige* NOUN & ADJECTIVE). It refers to the colour of undyed and unbleached cloth, which has a yellowish-grey hue. There is no indication in OED that the term is borrowed with any connotation. According to OED, *beige* has an additional sense of ‘colloquial (originally U.S.). Bland or unremarkable; uninspiring’ (OED, *beige* NOUN & ADJECTIVE¹⁴). It is shown that *beige* develops the connotations of naturalness, neutrality and dullness, which develop into metaphorical meanings because of its etymological metonymy of undyed cloth. In order to investigate this sense in American English, The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) is used as additional resource for collecting metaphorical meanings of *beige*.

The equivalence of *beige* and *mise* is shown in the translation and dictionaries in LModE and LModC. Thus, the referents of *beige* in LModE are investigated to evaluate the hue of *beige*. According to BNC, the main metonymies of *beige* include clothing, home decorations and furniture etc. For example:

- (476) Beneath an open **beige** silk trenchcoat she wore a red Louis Féraud dress; her legs were long and sheathed in fine black nylon. (BNC; 1990; Sons of heaven; Strong, Terence)
- (477) The paintwork, a dark brown, was peeling and the walls, unusually, had been hurriedly and superficially covered with an ugly **beige** paper which did not cling properly to the plaster. (BNC; 1990; Lady’s maid; Forster, Margaret)
- (478) The brown carpet was cigarette-burned and none too clean, but at least it did not clash with the shabby **beige** of the walls. (BNC; 1991; Roads that move; Perrie, Walter)
- (479) Small and delicate, fine-boned, pale brown skin, **beige** really, pale brown, wispy, very short hair, fey-faced, with as mall, tip-tilted nose and golden eyes like a cat. (BNC; 1987; A fatal inversion; Vine, Barbara)
- (480) I love English women in **beige**. It goes so well with their pale skin and light hair. (BNC; 1991; A woman of style; McDowell, Colin)

¹⁴ https://www.oed.com/dictionary/beige_n?tab=meaning_and_use#23953492 (Accessed: 20 February 2025)

These sentences show that *beige* is used to describe clothes, wallpaper, and skin. *Mise* is also used to describe these referents, which reveal the equivalence of *beige* and *mise* to some extent. This will be discussed in 7.8.3.

7.7.2 *Beige* in Late Modern English

Although OED does not present any metaphorical meanings of *beige*, the corpora (BNC and COCA) show that *beige* has the metaphorical meaning of Naturalness, Neutrality and Boredom in LModE.

7.7.2.1 Naturalness

The corpora show that *beige* has the metaphorical meaning of Naturalness, which is a positive sense. For example:

- (481) Blends are also popular in natural colours like white and **beige**. (BNC; 1985–1994; The Belfast Telegraph.)

- (482) Instead of turning brick-red or prawn-cocktail-pink, as she had feared, she is turning a pleasant beige, a natural **beige**, she is beginning to look the same colour that people look in television advertisements. A pleasant, mat, smooth beige. It is remarkable. (BNC; 1988; The radiant way; Drabble, Margaret)

- (483) I work for money. I am not going to offend ANYONE. Just like the inside of a perfect house, it's beige. We should all be beige in the workplace. # We should all be ' **beige**?' Huh? I don't know about you, but my favorite clients, the ones where we have a lot of fun during the process are the ones that I get along with, can talk about life, politics, whatever and not put on a fake persona. Why does everyone feel like you need to work with every client. (COCA; 2012; BLOG If You do NOT remove the politcial [sic] signs, we are NOT seeing your)

- (484) The second of Mr Major's personal concerns in the campaign was that he should remain true to himself. He was not prepared to put on an act, to don a tiger skin and go roaring about. The vague **beige** word that has naturally attached itself to Mr Major is 'nice'. It is hard to believe that an inhabitant of the political jungle can be nice; but in his case all those qualities that we heap under the label of niceness are aspects of the realman. (BNC; 1992; Daily Telegraph, elect. edn. of 19920412. World affairs material)

(481) shows that beige is regarded as a natural colour. In (482), *beige* is used to describe the colour of the skin, which is regarded as pleasant and natural. In (483) and (484), *beige*

has a positive sense because beige is regarded a natural colour, which is compared to a person who remains true to himself or herself without a fake persona.

7.7.2.2 Neutrality

The corpora show that *beige* has the metaphorical meaning of Neutrality. For example:

- (485) The violet, the green, the red in my collection, they're all underlined in **beige** -- neutrals are still the foundation and women who can't wear strong colours shouldn't even try. (BNC; 1985–1994; Clothes Show)
- (486) Just do it! Your Neutrality, **beige** alert. (COCA; 1999–2013; Futurama (IMDB))
- (487) Well, onward to a new life. Wow. Everything's so **beige**. Hmm. A perfectly neutral color for perfectly neutral living. (COCA; 1996–2001; 3rd Rock from the Sun (IMDB))
- (488) We've learned that on this station, you are the thin, **beige** line between order and chaos. (COCA; 1993–1999; Star Trek: Deep Space Nine (IMDB))

From (485) to (487), the underlined words which are used to describe *beige* show that beige is a neutral colour. Although *beige* is used in its literal meaning in (485) and (486), it shows that *beige* has the potential to develop an extended meaning based on its characteristic of neutrality. (487) and (488) show that *beige*'s metaphorical meaning of Neutrality is fully developed.

7.7.2.3 Boredom

Because of its connotations of drabness and neutrality, *beige* is also considered a bland colour since a neutral colour is more likely to be dull compared to bright and vivid colours. For example:

- (489) Strong attractive colours always appeal, and a bright red hatchback will probably sell for £200-£300 more than a dull **beige** one. (BNC; 1985–1994; Good Housekeeping)
- (490) I stubbornly (*sic*) refused; knowing that the pink had more character than their own boring, **beige** (COCA; 2012; Save The Pink Bathrooms)
- (491) I am so tired of **beige** and predictable. This book has page after page of beautiful photography and inspiration. It is a new favorite. (COCA; 2012; The Way Home: Reflections on American Beauty; Bilhuber, Jeffrey)

(489) to (491) show that beige is considered a dull, boring and predictable colour. Also, the contexts of (489) and (490) imply that *beige* has the connotation of dull and boring because it is not very exciting compared to other vivid and bright colours. In particular, beige is the colour of undyed cloth. Compared to dyed cloth, it is reasonable to see the undyed colour beige is regarded as boring. These sentences show that *beige* has the connotation of boredom.

(492) Your girlfriend's a four cos she's plain (m) (m) Boring and **beige**, to smash her I'd have to be half-cut (m) (m) (COCA; 2019; Ford v Ferrari (IMDB) (Open Subtitles))

(493) 'True, I do not know him and have no wish to, but he intrigues me. I see a not very tall man, pleasant enough to look at but a **beige** man, not very exciting, not very sexual -- ' (BNC; 1993; Love or nothing; Fox, Natalie)

(494) How did I let myself just blend in with the **beige** of the rest of the world? (COCA; 1997–2002; Ally McBeal (IMDB))

(492) shows that *beige* is used to describe a person, but it is still used with *boring*. In (493) and (494), *beige* is individually used to refer to the boredom of a person and a thing, which shows that the boredom of the colour is mapped onto a person or a thing. Thus, the metaphorical meaning of Boredom is fully developed.

7.7.3 Summary

The diachronic investigation of each metaphorical sense reveals different stages of their metaphorical development:

Naturalness: *Beige* has the connotation of naturalness etymologically. In LModE, the colour and the connotation are explicit. In this period, *beige* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Naturalness to describe people or words.

Neutrality: *Beige* has the connotation of neutrality because of its physical qualities. In LModE, the colour and the connotation are explicit. In this period, *beige* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Neutrality to describe the abstract concept of position.

Boredom: Developing from the connotations of naturalness and neutrality, *beige* has the connotation of boredom. In LModE, the colour and the connotation are explicit. In this period, *beige* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Boredom to describe a person.

Table 7.7 shows that the metaphorical meanings of *beige* this study found in four historical periods.

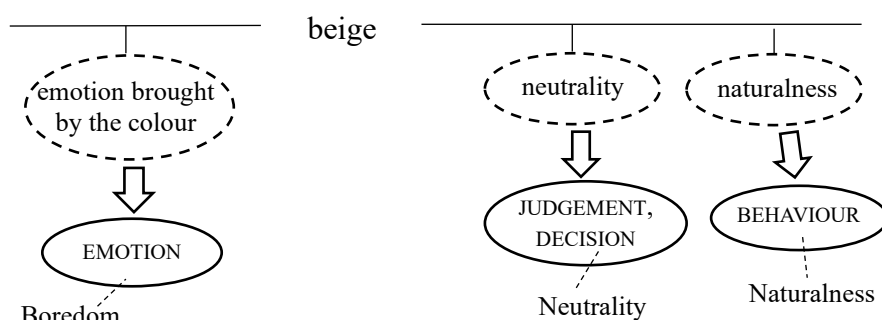
Table 7.7 Metaphorical meanings of *beige* in four historical periods

	Metaphorical meaning	Target domain	Occurrence in historical periods
1	Naturalness	1O22 BEHAVIOUR AND CONDUCT	LModE
2	Neutrality	2B04 JUDGMENT	LModE
3	Boredom	2D01 EMOTION	LModE

As Table 7.7 shows, *beige* has three metaphorical meanings in LModE (all are supported by the corpora). In LModE, Naturalness in BEHAVIOUR AND CONDUCT, Neutrality in JUDGMENT and Boredom in EMOTION are developed.

Based on the analysis of metaphorical meanings in sections 7.7.1 and 7.7.2 and their developments shown in Table 7.5, Figure 7.5 shows the course of the routes taken during the development of the metaphorical meanings:

Figure 7.5 Network of metaphorical meanings of *beige*



Biege has the connotations of neutrality and naturalness (the qualities of the colour), which are generalised into the domains of JUDGEMENT, DECISION and BEHAVIOUR and develop into the metaphorical meanings of Neutrality and Naturalness. *Beige* has the connotation of emotion brought by the colour, which derives from the connotations of neutrality and naturalness. The connotation is generalised into the domain of EMOTION and develops the metaphorical meaning of Boredom.

7.8 *Mise* 米色

7.8.1 presents the etymological metonymy and cultural connotations of *mise*. 7.8.2 shows the meanings of *mise* in EModC. 7.8.3 discusses the meanings of *mise* in LModC. 7.8.4 summarises the metaphorical meanings and the metaphorical development of *mise*.

7.8.1 Etymological metonymy and cultural connotations

Mise refers to the colour of rice, which is clear in the colour name ‘*mise*’ (*mi* ‘rice’ + *se* ‘colour’). According to *Dacidian*, *mise* refers to a white colour with a yellow tinge. The social and cultural background of the rice and its colour is investigated to look for the exact referent of the colour term. Rice was one of the staple foods of ancient China. *Oryza sativa* needed to be processed before it could be consumed. This processing in ancient China was finely graded, reflecting the level of consumption among social classes. The top grade of *baimi* (white rice) was used for imperial and ceremonial purposes, while the lower grade of *cumi* (rice which has shed the inedible outer hull but the bran and germ layer remain on) was for common people and soldiers. Because *cumi* retains its rough outer layer, its colour is darker than refined white rice, with a yellowish tinge. It is assumed that *mise* which refers to white with a yellow tinge derives from the colour of *cumi*.

7.8.2 *Mise* in Early Modern Chinese

Mise originally refers to all colours of rice, not one specific colour in EModC. For example:

- (495) 凡稻谷形有长芒、短芒、[...] 长粒、尖粒、圆顶、扁圆面不一，其中**米色**有雪白、牙黄、大赤、半紫、杂黑不一。(明；天工开物)
The shape of the rice grain varies from long-awned, short-awned, [...] long-grained, pointed-grained, domed, and flattened round-faced, and where the **mise** varies from snow-white, tooth-yellow, red, purple, and miscellaneous black. (Ming Dynasty; *Tiangongkaiwu*)
- (496) 刀鞘**米色**鲨鱼皮 [...] **米色**灯笼穗 [...] (清；三侠剑)
knife sheath in **mise** shark skin [...] **mise** lantern spike [...] (Qing Dynasty; *Sanxiajian*)

In (495), *mise* indicates the general colour of rice, which could be white, yellow, red, purple and black. It is clear that *mise* is not a colour term in this sentence. In (496), *mise* is used as a colour term. However, no examples with a metaphorical use of *mise* are found in this period in CCL.

7.8.3 *Mise* in Late Modern Chinese

According to CCL, *mise* is used in its literal meaning in LModC and no metaphorical meaning is found. Here, *mise* is investigated to measure its equivalence to *beige*.

- (497) [...] 放扣的布袋不是橙色的 是**米色**的粗麻质地的 上面是马车 还有一个圈里面有个 H 字母，扣上挂个白色小牌上面写着 MADE IN FRANCE，后上比较隐蔽的位置有 hermes 的字母，外面是橙色盒子，只有盒盖上有 LOGO，侧面和背面全都没有。(2010s; 网络语料 社区问答)

The cloth bag for the buckle is not orange, it's a **mise** linen bag with a carriage on it and a circle with a letter H inside, a small white tag on the buckle with MADE IN FRANCE written on it, and there is the letter HERMES on the back which is more hidden, and there is an orange box on the outside, with the logo on the lid only, and none of the sides or the back. (2010s; Community Q&A)

- (498) 聊起**米色**风衣，不得不提因它家喻户晓的英伦大牌 Burberry，每年 Burberry 都会为米色风衣来点与众不同的新形象。(2010s; 网络语料; 微信公众号)

Talking about **mise** trench coats, we have to mention Burberry, which is a household name in England, and every year Burberry will give beige trench coats a new and different look. (2010s; Wechat subscription)

- (499) 在这之后，一些科学家指出，格莱兹布鲁克等人研究用的计算机程序中存在问题,导致对宇宙颜色的判断不准。格莱兹布鲁克和鲍德里承认了错误,重新分析后将宇宙颜色修订为类似奶油的**米色**。(2002; 报刊 新华社)

Subsequently, some scientists pointed out that there were problems in the computer program used by Glazebrook and others to determine the colour of the universe. Glazebrook and Baldry admitted their mistake and, after reanalysis, revised the colour of the universe to a creamy **mise**. (2002; Newspaper *Xinhuashe*)

The beige Hermès dust bag is described as *mise* in (497). The beige Burberry trench coat is described as *mise* trench coat in (498). (499) is from a news that the scientist Glazebrook claims that the colour of the universe looks like beige¹⁵. The Chinese translation for it is *mise*. These sentences show that *mise* is the commonly used Chinese translation for *beige*.

- (500) 如果你的肤色是浅象牙色或暖**米色**，那么果绿这种颜色都很适合你 [...] (2010s; 网络语料; 社区问答)

If your skin tone is light ivory or warm **mise**, then fruity green is a great colour for you [...] (2010s; Community Q&A)

- (501) 你们的配色真是怪怪的,有些莫不着你们的路数..但是老人的房间如果刷颜色最好刷浅黄或**米色**，到了冬天老人怕冷，这样还有一点温暖的感觉。(2010s; 网络语料; 社区问答)

Your colour scheme is really weird, I don't know your style.... But if the old man's room is painted with colour, it is better to paint it light yellow

¹⁵ <https://www.wired.com/2002/03/universe-beige-not-turquoise/> (Accessed: 10 February 2025)

or **mise**, in winter, the old man is afraid of cold, so there is a little warm feeling. (2010s; Community Q&A)

In (500) and (501), *mise* is used to describe the skin colour and the colour of wallpaper, which is similar to *beige* (see 7.7.1).

(502) 到野生动物保护区游览，应尽量穿中性颜色衣服，如棕色、**米色**或土黄色，白色和其他鲜艳的颜色会令动物不安。(2010s; 网络语料; 微信公众号)

When visiting wildlife sanctuaries, try to wear neutral colours, such as brown, **mise** or earthy yellow; white and other bright colours can upset animals. (2010s; Wechat subscription)

(503) 在或柔媚或热烈的色彩中，**米色**是时尚美眉们常用的色彩。现如今的时尚中，米色因其简约与富于知性美而成为职场着装的常青色。(2010s; 网络语料; 微信公众号)

Mise is a common colour used by fashionistas in either soft or warm colours. In today's fashion, beige has become an evergreen colour for workplace attire because of its simplicity and intellectual beauty. (2010s; Wechat subscription)

(502) and (503) show that *mise* has the connotations of neutrality, simplicity and intellectual beauty. These connotations are from people's feelings of the colour used in clothing.

7.8.4 Summary

The hue of *beige* is defined as yellowish grey, and the hue of *mise* is defined as white with yellow tinge. They are similar but slightly different. In addition, their etymological metonymies are different. The etymological metonymy of *beige* is undyed and unbleached cloth, while that of *mise* is rice. However, in LModE and LModC, some English – Chinese dictionaries draw a correspondence between *beige* and *mise*. Moreover, according to the corpora, the Chinese equivalent of *beige* is *mise*, especially when used to describe fashionable clothes, home decoration and skin. With the translations in the dictionaries and the similar objects they describe, this study regards *beige* and *mise* as a pair of equivalent English and Chinese colour terms. Different from *beige*, *mise* does not develop metaphorical meanings, but has a connotation of neutrality, which is similar to *beige*.

7.9 Comparison of *beige* and *mise*

Table 7.7 shows the comparison of metaphorical meanings of *beige* and *mise*.

Table 7.8 Comparison of metaphorical meanings between *beige* and *mise*

Target domain	Source domain	Metaphorical meaning	Motivation
1O22 BEHAVIOUR AND CONDUCT	<i>beige</i>	Naturalness	social value
2B04 JUDGMENT	<i>beige</i>	Neutrality	social value
2D01 EMOTION	<i>beige</i>	Boredom	social value

As Table 7.7 shows, *beige* has recently developed metaphorical meanings of Naturalness, Neutrality and Boredom, while no metaphorical meaning is found for *mise*. *Beige*'s metaphorical meanings are motivated by the cultural context. To be specific, its cultural connotations are generated because of people's perception of the colour in its etymological metonymy (undyed and unbleached fabrics). The colour is considered neutral, natural, and bland. These connotations are generalised to JUDGEMENT, DECISION, BEHAVIOUR, and EMOTION and develop into metaphorical meanings.

Although *mise*'s etymological metonymy, rice, has bland taste and natural colour, it does not develop connotations of blandness and naturalness as *beige*, probably because of its crucial and fundamental status in Chinese cuisines. *Mise* has the connotations of neutrality, simplicity and intellectual beauty, which are from people's feelings of the colour used in clothing. However, these connotations are restricted in the contexts of the fashion market (esp. in clothes) and they do not develop into metaphorical meanings.

The possible reason for *mise*'s lack of metaphorical meanings is that *mise* began to be used relatively recently, so it has not had enough time to develop metaphorical meanings from the connotations and *mise* as a non-basic colour term is not used very broadly or frequently. However, *beige* is in a similar condition to *mise*, but it has developed metaphorical meanings, and thus the difference between *beige* and *mise* is possibly due to their different etymological metonymies and different cultural contexts. Compared to *beige*, *mise*'s etymological metonymy of rice does not have any salient cultural implications (the connotations of *mise* are from the metonymic bases of clothes), so it is not likely to develop extended meanings.

7.10 Conclusion

This chapter focuses on English and Chinese colour terms with different etymological metonymies. The findings show they tend not to develop the same metaphorical meanings. The cases of two similarities are exceptions. *Pink* and *fen(hong)(se)* have the same metaphorical meanings of Femininity with different motivations so it may largely be a

coincidence. Optimism is another similarity between them, but it is motivated by the same metonymic basis of flower that has the same connotation of positivity. The connotation is generalised to the metaphorical meaning in EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION motivated by the generic conceptualisation FEELING OF PLANTS IS FEELING OF OTHERS.

Peach(y) and *tao(hua)se* with different etymological metonymies develop different metaphorical meanings that are motivated by the metonymic basis of skin but show no similarities. *Beige* and *mise* also show no similarities in metaphorical meanings.

In general, English and Chinese colour terms with different etymological metonymies do not tend to develop the same metaphorical meanings because they have less chance to have the same metonymic bases that motivate the same connotations. The exceptions happen when they have the same metonymic basis that is not etymological. For example, *fen(hong)(se)* develops the same metaphorical meaning of Optimism as *pink* motivated by the metonymic basis of flower, which is not its etymological metonymy.

Chapter 8 General discussion

This thesis presents a comparison of colour metaphors in English and Chinese using a diachronic and corpus-based method. Chapter 2 reviews the previous research on the topics of conceptual metaphors, colour semantics, and comparative works on colour metaphors in English and Chinese. It reveals that the lack of diachronic perspectives on colour metaphors may lead to mistaken motivations for the similarities and differences because the interaction of the potentially universal conceptualisation and cultural factors involved in the metaphorical development is not investigated. This thesis uses diachronic and corpus-based methods outlined in Chapter 3. It chooses eight pairs of English and Chinese colour terms, which are divided into three groups according to their metonymic bases: those with similar metonymic bases of plants (Chapter 4 *green* – *qing/lv*, Chapter 5 *orange* – *cheng(se)/juse*, *rose/rosy* – *meiguise*), those with similar metonymic bases of dyes and metals (Chapter 6 *purple* – *zi*, *gold(en)* – *jin(se)*), and those with different metonymic bases (Chapter 7 *pink* – *fen(hong)(se)*, *peach(y)* – *tao(hua)se*, *beige* – *mise*).

By tying the analysis chapters together and drawing overall conclusions based on the findings, this chapter provides a summary of the responses to the three research questions of this thesis:

1. How do colour terms develop metaphorical meanings in English and Chinese?
 - 1a. How do metonymy and metaphor interact in the development of colour metaphors?
 - 1b. What is the role of metonymic bases of colour terms in the development of colour metaphors?
2. What are the similarities and differences between English and Chinese colour metaphors?
3. What are the reasons for the similarities and differences?
 - 3a. How do the metonymic bases of colour terms contribute to the similarities and differences?
 - 3b. What are the factors that determine the similarities and differences?

The first research question is discussed in 8.1. The diachronic investigation shows metaphorical development and metaphorical conceptualisation of colour terms in English and Chinese. The sub-questions of (1a.) how metonymy and metaphor interact in the development of colour metaphors and (1b.) what the role of metonymic bases of colour

terms is in the development of colour terms are discussed after the patterns of metaphorical development and metaphorical conceptualisation of colour terms are explored.

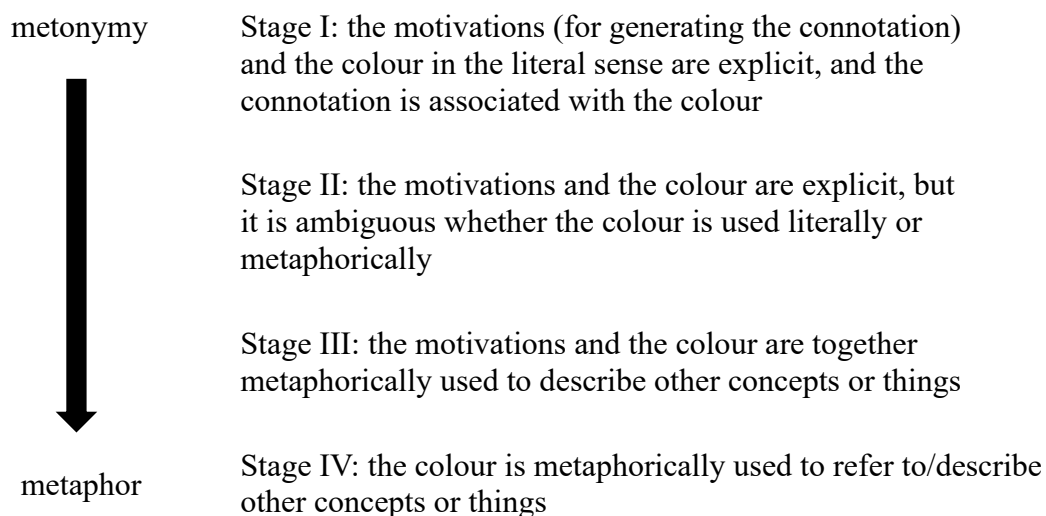
The second research question is discussed in 8.2, where the differences and similarities in three motivations are summarised. The differences and similarities between English and Chinese colour terms are set out in the summary section of each colour investigation (Chapter 4 – Chapter 7). The point of the comparison in this question is that it is not only about the same or different metaphorical meanings of colour terms but also about the development of the metaphorical meanings. The former is presented in the tables in each section, and the latter is presented in the figures of the development of English and Chinese. The findings of the metaphorical meanings of each colour term are not repeated in this chapter, but the similarities and differences in three main motivations are discussed in 8.2.

The reasons for the similarities and the differences are explored by analysing how the metonymic bases of colour terms contribute to the similarities and differences in 8.3 and what the factors that determine the similarities and differences are in 8.4.

8.1 How do colour terms develop metaphorical meanings in English and Chinese?

The diachronic investigation reveals the metaphorical development of colour terms in English and Chinese. In an experiential scene relating to colour, a connotation associated with colour is generated, and then the connotation develops into a metaphorical meaning of the colour in a process that moves from metonymy to metaphor. The metonymy and metaphor can be visualised as two poles of a continuum, and the development of colour metaphors is a process that moves from the pole of metonymy to the pole of metaphor. The more it approaches the pole of the metaphor, the more metaphoricity it has. The following figure shows different stages in the continuum from metonymy to metaphor:

Figure 8.1 The continuum from metonymy to metaphor that shows the metaphorical development of colour terms



The arrow on the left symbolises the process moves from metonymy to metaphor in the continuum where the pole of metonymy with the most metonymicity and the pole of metaphor with the most metaphoricity. There are four different stages with different degrees of metaphoricity in the process, which means that from Stage I to Stage IV the metaphoricity increases. According to the diachronic investigation, metonymic basis, cultural context and relationship with other colours are three motivations for generating connotations associated with colour in the experiential scene relating to colour. Because connotations develop into metaphorical meanings in the metaphorical development of colour terms, these motivations for generating connotations are also the motivations for colour metaphors. Thus, the three motivations for colour metaphors are metonymic basis, cultural context and relationship with other colours. The first accounts for the majority of cases.

The division of three types of motivations indicates the main motivation for the metaphorical meanings, but it does not suggest that it is the only motivation. Instead, these three motivations often work together in the metaphorical development. The metaphorical meanings motivated by metonymic bases are often influenced by cultural contexts as well. For example, *qing* develops the metaphorical meaning of East because of its metonymic bases of plants. The abundant rainfall and the temperature are favourable for plant growth in the eastern part of the country. Thus, *qing* is associated with the East in Chinese culture. The metonymic bases of plants have the connotation of the East due to environmental factors. In addition, the motivation of relationship with other colours is also largely

influenced by cultural context, because of which though *purple* and *zi* are both related to the colours red and blue, they develop totally different metaphorical meanings.

Usually, in Stage I, the colour is in its literal meaning, but it is associated with the connotation. The motivations (metonymy, cultural context, relationship with other colours) for the connotation are often explicit. Stage II is a transitional stage from the literal use or metaphorical use of the colour. This study divides the use of colour in this stage into two cases. If the semantic highlight of the colour is to express the connotation of the motivations, it is a metaphorical use. If there is no indication that there is a semantic highlight of the metaphorical use and the literal meaning of the colour is valid, it is regarded as the transitional stage of the metaphorical development. In Stage III, colour and the motivations (mostly the metonymic basis) are together metaphorically used. Since the conceptual link of the metonymic basis remains, the metaphoricity is lower than those that are completely deprived of the metonymic basis. In Stage VI, the colour is completely metaphorical used, which means the metaphorical meaning is fully developed. This stage is indicative of the metaphorical meanings being used without metonymic bases, out of cultural contexts, or not mentioning other colours. Several examples are listed below to show the stages of metaphorical development:

Table 8.1 Example of metaphorical meanings in four stages in metaphorical development

Metaphorical meanings	OE/OC	ME/MC	EModE/EModC	LModE/LModC
Youth of <i>green</i>	Stage I	Stage IV	Stage IV	Stage IV
Youth of <i>qing</i>	Stage I (spring)	Stage III	Stage IV	Stage IV
Ill Health of <i>green</i>		Stage II	Stage II	Stage II
(ill health) of <i>qing</i>	Stage I		Stage I	
Fear of <i>green</i>				Stage II
Anger of <i>purple</i>				Stage II, Stage IV
(anger) of <i>zi</i>				Stage II
Permission of <i>green</i>				Stage III

The metaphorical development of *green* in the metaphorical meaning of Youth is evidenced in Stage I and Stage IV. In OE, it is in stage I. The metonymic bases of plants and the colour green are explicit, and the connotation of ‘youth of plants’ is implied by the colour. In ME, *green* is used to express the metaphorical meaning of Youth to describe the abstract concept of age of human beings. Thus, it is in the final stage IV and continues in EModE and LModE.

The metaphorical development of *qing* in the same metaphorical meaning of Youth is slightly different. In OC, *qing* has the connotation of corresponding to spring. In MC, it is in the Stage III. The colour and the metonymic bases of spring are together metaphorically used to describe the youth of people. This metaphorical use keeps the conceptual link with the metonymy compared to those that are fully deprived of the metonymic basis, so its metaphoricity is slightly lower. In EModC, the metaphorical use of *qingchun* continues and *qing* is also directly used to express the metaphorical meaning of Youth to describe the abstract concept of age. Thus, in this period, it is in Stage IV and continues in LModC.

The metaphorical development of *green* in the sense of Ill Health is evidenced in Stage II. *Green* has the connotation of representing the health condition motivated by the metonymic basis of skin and the ancient and medieval medical traditions. In ME, it is ambiguous whether *green* is used literally or metaphorically to describe the health condition, but the semantic highlight of *green* is the connotation of ill health rather than the colour green. Thus, it is in Stage II and continues in EModE and LModE. The metaphorical development of *qing* with the connotation of ill health is different from *green*. In OC, the metonymic bases of skin and the colour *qing* are explicit, and the connotation of 'ill health' is implied by the colour. In EModC, the metonymic bases of skin and the colour *qing* are used to express ill health but the colour is still literally used. There is no evidence showing its metaphoricity develops, so it is in Stage I.

The metaphorical development of *green* in the sense of Permission in Stage III. The colour green and the metonymic bases of traffic lights are together metaphorically used. The metaphoricity is lower than those in Stage IV that are completely deprived of the metonymic basis because the conceptual link of the metonymic basis remains.

The metaphorical development of *green* in Fear is evidenced in Stage II. In LModE, it is ambiguous whether *green* is used literally or metaphorically to describe the emotion of fear. Because the emotion of fear is not explicit, the semantic highlight of *green* is the emotion of fear rather than the colour green. The metaphorical development of *zi* with the connotation of anger is evidenced to be in Stage II but it is not a metaphorical meaning. In LModC, it is ambiguous whether *zi* is used literally or metaphorically to describe the emotion of anger. Because the emotion of anger is explicit, the semantic highlight of *zi* is still the literal meaning, so it is a connotation. The further metaphorical development of *green* in Fear and *zi* with anger is probably the same as *purple* in Anger. *Purple* is also in Stage II as a transitional stage, and it develops to Stage IV because *purple* is

metaphorically used to describe as a flash of anger independently of the metonymic basis of face.

The continuum in this study is compared to the adapted continuums of Radden and Kövecses (see 2.1.2.2), which are presented again below for convenience of comparison. Radden's continuum is:

- Stage I: the UP and MORE are associated in the primary scene.
- Stage II: still in the primary scene but the UP and MORE are seen as two distinct concepts.
- Stage III: the further development where UP and MORE are in the different distinct source domain and target domain.

Kövecses's continuum is:

- Stage I: metonymic associations in the same frame (for the metaphor sadness is down, the metonymy inside the frame is DOWNWARD BODILY ORIENTATION FOR SADNESS).
- Stage II: the generalisation process to metaphor (downward bodily orientation can be generalised to the concept of DOWN which is distinct from the actual downward bodily response inside the SADNESS frame).

The continuum presented in this study is:

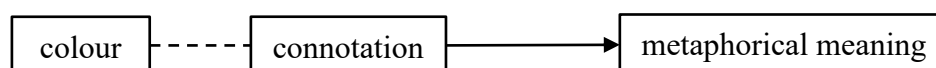
- Stage I: the motivations (for generating the connotation) and the colour in the literal sense are explicit, and the connotation is associated with the colour.
- Stage II: the motivations and the colour are explicit, but it is ambiguous whether the colour is used literally or metaphorically.
- Stage III: the motivations and the colour are together metaphorically used to describe other concepts or things.
- Stage IV: the colour is metaphorically used to refer to/describe other concepts or things.

Stage I is the same in the three proposals, where the metonymic associations occur in primary scene/frame/experiential scene. Stage II of this study can be regarded as corresponding to Radden's Stage II. In this study, in Stage II it is ambiguous whether colour is literally used with a connotation or colour is used to express the connotation and the literal meaning is ignored. In Radden's Stage II, the associated concepts are full metonymy (UP FOR MORE). It may explain the ambiguity: the use of colour activates its literal meaning or its metonymically associated concept (the connotation). Stage II in this study has some similarities with Goossens's proposal of *metaphor from metonymy* as one type of *metaphonymy* (see 2.1.2.1). For example, the metonymical interpretation and metaphorical interpretation are both valid and this stage is the transitional stage in the

continuum. Stage III is the special stage in this study different from the other two. This is because colour sometimes metaphorically develops with its metonymic basis. Because its conceptual distance from the metonymic basis is closer than those in Stage III with no obvious conceptual link with the metonymic basis, it has lower metaphoricity. Radden's Stage III, Kövecses's Stage II and Stage IV are the final stages of fully developed metaphor. Compared to Radden's proposal, Kövecses's proposal explains how the metonymic association becomes metaphorical mapping using generalisation process, which is adopted by this study. The generalisation is used explain the further metaphor development in Stage III and Stage IV in this study.

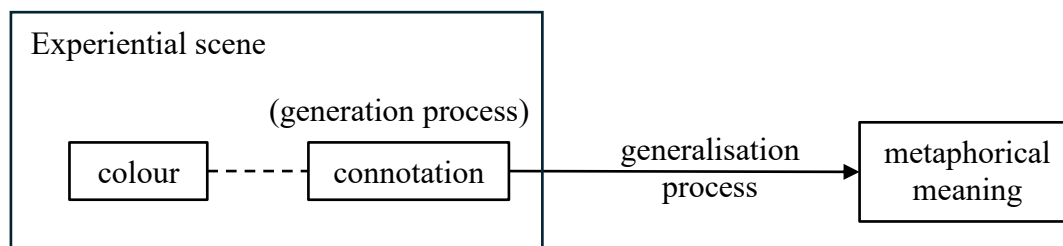
Therefore, by summarising the metaphorical development of English and Chinese colour metaphors, it is seen that the metaphorical meanings of colour terms develop from the connotations metonymically associated with colours. The connotations develop into metaphorical meanings in a process that moves from metonymy to metaphor, which is indicated by the colour not being used literally or its semantic highlight being the connotation rather than the literal meaning, and the colour being metaphorically used to refer to/describe other concepts or things. Thus, the model of metaphorical development of colour terms is as follows:

Figure 8.2 Model of metaphorical development of colour terms



This model shows that metaphorical meanings of colour terms develop from the connotations metonymically associated with colour (the dashed line shows the metonymic relationship). The diachronic investigation finds that the generation of the connotations are mainly motivated by metonymic basis, cultural context and relationship with other colours for both English and Chinese. Connotations develop into metaphorical meanings in a process that moves from metonymy to metaphor, which means the metonymic association between the colour and the connotation develops into a metaphorical mapping between the source domain of colour and the target domain of the metaphorical meaning.

This study applies the theories of primary metaphor (see Figure 2.1) and Kövecses's proposal (2013) of the conceptualisation of correlation metaphors (see 2.1.2.2) to explain the metaphorical conceptualisation of the colour terms. The model of metaphorical conceptualisation is as follows:

Figure 8.3 Model of metaphorical conceptualisation of colour terms

We experience colour in an experiential scene on a regular basis and gradually associate the colours with some connotations that are salient for us. For example, the sprouting and growing leaves are characterised as green, so the colour green and the connotation of youth of plants are associated. It is because of our cognitive abilities that we focus on the basic events from all the undifferentiated and uncategorised events according to our subjective experiences (e.g. the colour green and the attribute of youth of plants are focused on).

The results of the present study show that the construction of the experiential scene relating to colour has three main motivations, which are metonymic basis, cultural context and relationship with other colours. The experiential scene motivated by metonymic basis is constructed by experiencing colour through its metonymic basis. The experiential scene motivated by cultural context is experiencing colour in a certain cultural context. The experiential scene motivated by relationship with other colours indicates we experience the colour through its relationship with other colours. Colour is associated with connotations in experiential scenes motivated in these three ways. That is, in the experiential scene motivated by metonymic basis, colour is associated with the connotation of the metonymic basis. For example, in the experiential scene of *green* motivated by the metonymic bases of plants, the colour green is associated with the connotation of the rawness of the plants. In the experiential scene motivated by cultural context, colour is associated with its cultural connotation. For instance, in the experiential scene of *zi* motivated by the cultural context of Taoism, the colour *zi* is associated with its cultural connotation of auspiciousness. In the experiential scene motivated by relationship with other colours, colour is associated with the connotation of the relationship or connotation of other colours. For example, in the experiential scene of *pink* motivated by its relationship with other colours, the colour pink is associated with the connotation of being lighter than red. The connotation develops into the metaphorical meaning of Politics.

That is to say, there are three motivations for the experiential scene generating connotations associated with colour. The generation of connotation is termed the

generation process in the present study. The connotations are bound up with the metonymies and the colours (the dashed line is used to indicate that the relationship of the colour and the connotation is metonymic). In the experiential scene, colour as one distinguishable aspect of the experience is correlated with a different dimension (connotation) of such experience on a regular basis. They are conceptualised and expressed as two distinct concepts. For example, in the experiential scene motivated by the metonymic bases of plants, green colour is correlated with the young condition of plants. They are two dimensions of the experience but are conceptualised and expressed as two distinct concepts of a colour and an attribute which are bound in our cognitive structure. That is, the colour and the connotation have conceptual binding in the experiential scene.

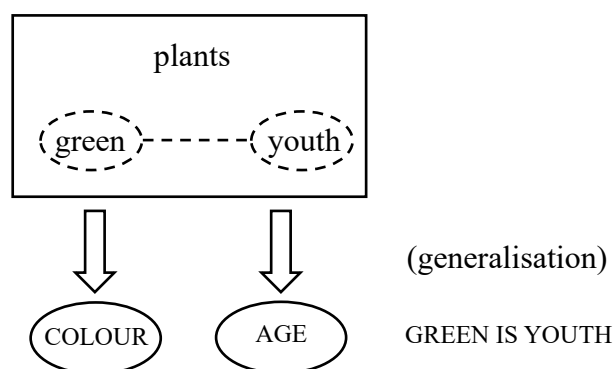
Finally, the metaphorical meanings, as the outcome, develop from the connotations (the normal arrow is used to indicate that the connotation in the same domain with the colour develops into the metaphorical meaning in another domain). The development from connotation to metaphorical meaning is termed the generalisation process (the term *generalisation* is borrowed from Kövecses's work in 2013: 86) in the present study. Taking the metaphorical meaning Youth of *green* for an example, the metonymic bases of plants are the foundation and the starting point. Then, in the experiential scene motivated by the metonymic bases of plants, *green* is associated with the connotation of youth. The colour green and the connotation of youth are in the same domain of the metonymic bases of plants. Finally, the metaphorical meaning of Youth, as the outcome, develops from the domain of plants into the domain of AGE connotation.

In the model, the generation process and generalisation process are two important steps in developing colour metaphors. The generation process is how to generate connotations relating to colours in the experiential scene. The generalisation process is crucial in the process moves from metonymy and metaphor. In this process, the colour and the connotations are generalised to distinct target and source domains. That is, when the colour green and the connotation of youth are generalised to distinct domains, their association motivates the mapping from the colour domain GREEN to the age domain YOUTH. Thus, *green* is used to describe the youth of a person. It is the key step, which makes metaphorical meanings different from other non-literal meanings of colour terms.

In a broad sense of metonymy, the conceptual binding in the experiential scene is a metonymic relationship. As mentioned in Chapter 2, this study explains this as the process of development from metonymy to metaphor, with several premises: 1) metaphors are the

mappings between distinct domains, and 2) the rationale behind the mappings can be correlation despite similarity (2.1.1.4 introduces Grady's proposal of correlation metaphors and resemblance metaphors in 1999). The process from metonymy to metaphor of the colour metaphors in this study is analysed using the proposal made by Kövecses (2013) (see 2.1.2.2). In short, colour is associated with connotations in experiential scenes motivated by metonymic basis, cultural context and relationship with other colours. The connotations associated with colours are generalised to a concept in a distinct thematic hierarchy. The generalisation is often indicated by applying the connotations to describe the referent that is different from the metonymy where the colour and the connotation are associated. The metaphorical meaning Youth of *green* is shown as follows as an example of metaphorical conceptualisation:

Figure 8.4 *Green's* mapping with Youth



The model of metaphorical development of colour terms in Figure 8.2 is revealed by the language evidence during the diachronic investigation. The model of metaphorical conceptualisation of colour terms in Figure 8.3 proposes a possible cognitive process by combining the findings in Figure 8.2 and the theoretical background of primary metaphors and correlation metaphors. Correlating these two models, it is seen that the colour and its metonymically associated connotation in the former model is explained by the generation process of connotation in the experiential scene relating to colour in the latter model. How the connotations develop into metaphorical meanings in the former model is explained by the generalisation process in the latter model.

Therefore, research question 1 can be answered. In the metaphor development of a colour metaphor, a connotation associated with the colour is generated in an experiential scene relating to the colour, and then the connotation develops into a metaphorical meaning of colour in a process that moves from metonymy to metaphor. In the metaphorical

conceptualisation, the experiential scene relating to the colour is constructed according to our experience. Within the experiential scene, the colour and the connotation are conceptual binding. Then, the colour and the connotation are generalised into two distinct domains, one of which is the colour domain as the source domain and the other is the target domain. The metonymic basis is one of the three motivations (and the most frequently occurring motivation) of the generation of the connotations, so it is one of the three motivations (and the main motivation) of colour metaphors.

It is seen that the metaphorical development of colour terms is a process from metonymy to metaphor, because it is from one domain (the experiential scene where colour and connotations are correlated) to two distinct domains (colour is the source domain and connotation is generalised into the target domain). Referring to the question of whether all colour metaphors are motivated by metonymic bases proposed in Chapter 2, the present study suggests that all colours are motivated by metonymic bases if the metonymic bases refer to the experiential scene where the colours and the connotations are associated. The primary motivation for colour metaphors is the experience that correlates colour with other concepts, which is a metonymic relationship. However, in the present study, the motivations for colour metaphors are specified to the three motivations for constructing the experiential scene. Among the three motivations, the metonymic basis refers to concrete objects in reality, such as plants for *green*, dyes for *purple*, metal for *gold(en)* etc., which is distinguished from the other two motivations of cultural context and relationship with other colours. In most cases, the experiential scenes are motivated by the metonymic bases of colours. That is, the metonymic bases motivate the generation of connotations associated with the colour. In this way, it is the metonymic bases that motivate the metaphorical meanings. However, in some cases, the experiential scenes are motivated by cultural contexts and relationships with other colours. In the experiential scenes that is mainly motivated by cultural contexts, colours probably have metonymic bases though unknown and non-obvious, but it is the cultural contexts that motivate the connotations associated with colours. In the experiential scenes motivated by relationships with other colours, it is the relationships that motivate the connotations associated with colours. Based on the narrow definition of metonymic bases, most cases of colour metaphors are motivated by metonymic bases, but some cases are motivated by cultural contexts and relationships with other colours.

The productivity of colour terms, especially the reasons why some colour terms do not develop metaphorical meanings, can be hypothesised based on the development of colour

metaphors. In the investigated colour pairs, *orange*, *cheng(se)*, *juse*, *peach(y)*, and *mise* do not have metaphorical meanings, and *tao(hua)se* and *beige* have few metaphorical meanings. According to three main motivations, some colour terms do not develop metaphorical meanings because: (1) the etymological metonymies lack intrinsic or cultural connotations. For instance, the etymological metonymies of *orange* and *cheng(se)/juse* lacks cultural implications both in English and Chinese. If *orange* and *cheng(se)/juse* had cultural connotations like *purple*, they may develop some metaphorical meanings. (2) The etymological metonymies of the colour terms are so salient that they are unlikely to have other metonymies. In principle, if a colour term has more metonymies, it has more possibilities to develop metaphorical meanings. For example, *green* develops metaphorical meanings based on multiple metonymies like plants, skin and traffic lights. *Orange* and *cheng(se)/juse* have only one salient metonymy, which limits them in developing metaphorical meanings, especially compared to *gold(en)* and *jin(se)*. *Gold(en)* also has a salient metonymy from the metal gold, but it has another metonymic basis of sunshine, so the colour term (probably not the precious metal sense) develops the metaphorical meaning of Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity (see Chapter 6). (3) It is also hypothesised that one colour term may block another colour term from developing metaphorical senses because their hues are similar. In the case of *orange* and *gold(en)*, it is possible that *gold(en)* and *jin(se)* take up the metonymic bases that *orange* and *cheng(se)/juse* could take up. In fact, *orange* and *cheng(se)/juse* could have been used to describe sunshine and then developed the connotations of happiness, well-being or prosperity, but *gold(en)* and *jin(se)* appear to block this metaphorical development.

As for colour metaphors, it is necessary to make sure it is the colour rather than other attributes of the metonymies that are associated with the connotations which develop into the metaphorical meanings. It is noted that when a colour term and the etymological metonymy share the same word form, it is necessary to distinguish whether the metaphorical meaning belongs to the colour term or the etymological metonymy. *Green* is used as a colour term, and the metaphorical meanings develop from Old English according to OED (see 4.1.1). The most important thing is to examine that the attributes and connotations of the etymological metonymy contribute to metaphorical meanings because of the colour green. For example, when the plants are green, they are vigorous, young and raw. However, *pink* and *gold(en)* have metaphorical meanings before they are used as colour terms, so some metaphorical meanings belong to the etymological metonymies rather than to the colour term. For example, *gold(en)*'s metaphorical sense of Preciousness belongs to the metal gold rather than to the colour because the attributes and connotations

that contribute to this metaphorical meaning are due to the rarity and expensiveness of the metal gold. That is, the way to distinguish whether metaphorical meanings belong to colour terms rather than to the etymological metonymies is to examine whether the attributes and connotations that give rise to the metaphorical meanings are characterised by the colour. For example, *gold(en)*'s metaphorical meaning of Harvest belongs to the colour term since it derives from the colour of crops when they are ripe.

8.2 What are the similarities and differences between English and Chinese colour metaphors?

According to the comparison results of the differences and similarities between English and Chinese colour terms set out in the summary section of each colour investigation (Chapter 4 – Chapter 7), Table 8.2 shows English and Chinese colour pairs (shown by the capitalised colour category) have sometimes the same metaphorical meanings and sometimes different metaphorical meanings in the motivations of metonymic basis, cultural context of colours and relationship with other colours.

Table 8.2 Similarities and differences in three motivations

Motivation	Colour pairs with similarities	Colour pairs with differences
Metonymic basis	GREEN, ROSY, PURPLE, GOLDEN, PINK	GREEN, ROSY, PURPLE, GOLDEN, PINK, PEACHY
Cultural context of colours	PINK	GREEN, PURPLE, PINK, BEIGE
Relationship with other colours	none	PURPLE, PINK

Table 8.2 shows that almost all the same metaphorical meanings of colour terms are motivated by their metonymic basis. The exception is PINK, which has one similarity of Femininity. The similarity is motivated by the coincidental similar cultural connotation of referring to females in both *pink* and *fen(hong)(se)*. Thus, the reasons for the similarities are explored on the focus of the motivation of metonymic basis, and the reasons for the differences are focused on the motivations of cultural context and relationship with other colours.

8.3 How do the metonymic bases of colour terms contribute to the similarities and differences?

The colour and the connotation are associated in the domain of the metonymic bases before the colour is generalised to the COLOUR domain, and then the connotations are generalised to the target domain. The metonymic basis motivates the mapping between the

COLOUR domain and the target domains (metaphorical meanings of colour terms). The target domain is conceptualised through the metonymic basis, and thus the colour domain which represents the metonymic basis is used to describe the target domain.

Table 8.3 to Table 8.9 show how the target domains are conceptualised by the domain of the metonymic basis represented by each COLOUR domain. From left to right, these tables first divide the metonymic bases into shared metonymic bases between English and Chinese and culturally specific metonymic bases and then present the domain of metonymic basis, which is ordered to align with the semantic hierarchy of MM. The eight pairs of colour terms have metonymic bases of ecology, skin, plants, wine, dyes, clothing etc. These metonymic bases are the motivations for the colour terms developing metaphorical meanings. Then, the tables list the specific COLOUR domain. To highlight the colour term as a domain, the colour term is presented as the capitalised colour category and the distinction between English and Chinese is presented by 1 and 2 after the colour category. For example, GREEN1 refers to the colour term *green*, and GREEN2 refers to the colour term *qing/lv*. Finally, the tables present the target domains of all metaphorical meanings motivated by the metonymic bases. The order of the tables is GREEN, ROSY, PURPLE, GOLDEN, PINK, PEACHY, BEIGE. The similarities are highlighted in bold font.

Table 8.3 Metaphorical meanings of GREEN motivated by metonymic bases

Domain of metonymic basis		Source domain	Target domain
Shared metonymic bases	1B06 BIOLOGY	GREEN1, GREEN2 →	1G01 FOOD AND EATING (Safety, Non-pollution and High Quality) 3A06 SOCIAL COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE (Environmentalism)
	1B09 THE HUMAN BODY	GREEN1 → GREEN2 → GREEN1, GREEN2 →	1C01 HEALTH (Ill Health) 2C02 BAD (Eeriness) 2D01 EMOTION (Jealousy, Fear, Anger)
	1F01 PLANTS	GREEN1, GREEN2 → GREEN2 → GREEN1, GREEN2 → GREEN2 → GREEN1 → GREEN1, GREEN2 → GREEN1 → GREEN2 → GREEN1 → GREEN1, GREEN2 → GREEN1 → GREEN1 → GREEN2 →	1B03 AGE (Youth) 1L07 DIRECTION (East) 1M02 DURATION IN TIME (Vitality) 1M04 SEASON (Spring) 1M07 MEASUREMENT OF TIME AND RELATIVE TIME (Newness) 1O03 PREPARATION AND UNDERTAKING (Immaturity) 1O03 PREPARATION AND UNDERTAKING (Rawness) 1O07 COMPLETION (Completion) 1O20 MANNER OF ACTION (Vitality) 1O23 ABILITY (Inexperience) 2A13 LACK OF UNDERSTANDING (Naivety, Simpleton) 3D03 POLITICS (Environmentalist Political Parties) 3M06 LITERATURE (History)
	3J02 TRANSPORT	GREEN1, GREEN2 →	3D05 AUTHORITY, REBELLION AND FREEDOM (Permission)
Culturally specific	1G DRINKS AND DRINKING	GREEN2 →	3F05 MORAL EVIL (Extravagant Life)

metonymic bases	3B02 BUILDINGS AND INHABITED PLACES	GREEN2 → 3F01 MORALITY AND IMMORALITY (Brothel)
	3M03 THE ARTS	GREEN2 → 1P26 QUANTITY (Luxury and Rhetoric)

Table 8.3 shows that English GREEN and Chinese GREEN have both shared metonymic bases and culturally specific metonymic bases. According to the comparison result in 4.4, English GREEN and Chinese GREEN have seven similarities in metaphorical meanings. Table 8.3 shows that all the similarities are motivated by shared metonymic bases, which are 1B06 BIOLOGY (ecology), 1B09 THE HUMAN BODY (skin), 1F01 PLANTS (plants), and 3J02 TRANSPORT (traffic lights). The shared metonymic bases also motivate different metaphorical meanings. Culturally specific metonymic bases only motivate different metaphorical meanings.

Table 8.4 Metaphorical mappings of ROSY motivated by metonymic bases

Domain of metonymic basis		Source domain	Target domain
Shared metonymic bases	1F01 PLANTS	ROSY1, ROSY2 →	2A26 EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION (Optimism)
		ROSY1, ROSY2 →	2B12 BEAUTY AND UGLINESS (Beauty)
		ROSY1, ROSY2 →	2C01 GOOD (Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness)
		ROSY2 →	2D08 LOVE AND FRIENDSHIP (Romance)
	1B09 THE HUMAN BODY	ROSY1 →	1C01 HEALTH (Good Health)
		ROSY1	2D01 EMOTION (Shyness/humility)

Table 8.4 shows that English ROSY and Chinese ROSY only have shared metonymic bases. According to the comparison result in 5.6, *rose/rosy* and *meiguise* have three similarities in metaphorical meanings. Table 8.4 shows that all the similarities are motivated by shared metonymic bases, which are 1F01 PLANTS (rose flower). The same metaphorical meaning of Beauty is motivated by both the metonymic basis of the flower and the metonymic basis of the complexion. To avoid ambiguity, it is shown only in the row of the metonymic basis of plants but not in the row of the metonymic basis of the human body. The shared metonymic bases also motivate different metaphorical meanings.

Table 8.5 Metaphorical mappings of PURPLE motivated by metonymic bases

Domain of metonymic basis		Source domain	Target domain
Shared metonymic bases	1J34 COLOUR	PURPLE1 →	1O16 PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS (Success)
		PURPLE1 →	2C01 GOOD (Richness and Splendour)
		PURPLE1, PURPLE2 →	3A09 SOCIAL POSITION (Privilege)
Culturally specific metonymic bases	1B09 THE HUMAN BODY	PURPLE1 →	1B26 DEATH (Death)
		PURPLE1 →	2D01 EMOTION (Anger)
		PURPLE1 →	3A08 SOCIAL ATTITUDES (Feminism)
	1F01 PLANTS	PURPLE2 →	1O16 PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS (Beauty and Prosperity)

Table 8.5 shows that English PURPLE and Chinese PURPLE have both shared metonymic bases and culturally specific metonymic bases. According to the comparison result in 6.3, English PURPLE and Chinese PURPLE have one similarity in metaphorical meanings. Table 8.5 shows that the similarity is motivated by shared metonymic bases, which are 1J34 COLOUR (dyes). The shared metonymic bases also motivate different metaphorical meanings. Culturally specific metonymic bases only motivate different metaphorical meanings.

Table 8.6 Metaphorical mappings of GOLDEN motivated by metonymic bases

Domain of metonymic basis		Source domain	Target domain
Shared metonymic bases	1J25 LIGHT	GOLDEN1, GOLDEN2 →	1O16 PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS (Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity)
		GOLDEN2 →	2A26 EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION (Optimism)
	1F01 PLANTS	GOLDEN1, GOLDEN2 →	2F05 OBTAINING (Harvest)
	1J02 CHEMISTRY	GOLDEN2 →	2B07 ESTEEM (High Reputation)
		GOLDEN1 →	2M03 THE ARTS (Precious Language)
		GOLDEN2 →	3H01 FAITH (Buddhism)

Table 8.6 shows that English GOLDEN and Chinese GOLDEN only have shared metonymic bases. According to the comparison result in 6.6, English GOLDEN and Chinese GOLDEN have two similarities in metaphorical meanings. Table 8.6 shows that all the similarities are

motivated by shared metonymic bases, which are 1J25 LIGHT (sunshine) and 1F01 PLANTS (skin). The shared metonymic bases also motivate different metaphorical meanings.

Table 8.7 Metaphorical mappings of PINK motivated by metonymic bases

Domain of metonymic basis		Source domain	Target domain
Shared metonymic bases	1F01 PLANTS	PINK1, PINK2 →	2A26 EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION (Optimism)
Culturally specific metonymic bases	2B12 BEAUTY AND UGLINESS	PINK2 →	1B04 BIOLOGICAL SEX (Femininity)
		PINK2 →	2B12 BEAUTY AND UGLINESS (Beauty)
		PINK2 →	2D01 EMOTION (Romance)

Table 8.7 shows that English PINK and Chinese PINK only have culturally specific metonymic bases. According to the comparison result in 7.3, English PINK and Chinese PINK have two similarities in metaphorical meanings, which are Femininity and Optimism. As Table 8.7 shows, Chinese PINK develops the metaphorical meaning motivated by 2B12 BEAUTY AND UGLINESS (makeup powder) while English PINK develops the metaphorical meaning because of cultural factors (see Table 8.11). This similarity is probably a coincidence, so Table 8.7 does not present it because it is not motivated by metonymic bases. The similarity of Optimism is motivated by the same metonymic basis of flower. Culturally specific metonymic bases only motivate different metaphorical meanings.

Table 8.8 Metaphorical meanings of PEACHY motivated by metonymic bases

Domain of metonymic basis		Target domain	Source domain
Shared metonymic bases	1B09 THE HUMAN BODY	PEACHY1 →	2B12 BEAUTY AND UGLINESS (Beauty of a Woman)
		PEACHY1 →	2C01 GOOD (Excellence)
		PEACHY2 →	2D01 EMOTION (Love Affair)

Table 8.8 shows that English PEACHY and Chinese PEACHY have one shared metonymic basis of skin. According to the comparison result in 7.6, English PEACHY and Chinese PEACHY have no similarity in metaphorical meanings. The shared metonymic basis of skin only motivates different metaphorical meanings.

According to the comparison result in 7.9, English BEIGE and Chinese BEIGE have no similarity in metaphorical meanings. The metaphorical meanings of English BEIGE are motivated by the cultural context (though its culturally specific etymological metonymy also plays a role in generating the connotations, but the main factor is the cultural context).

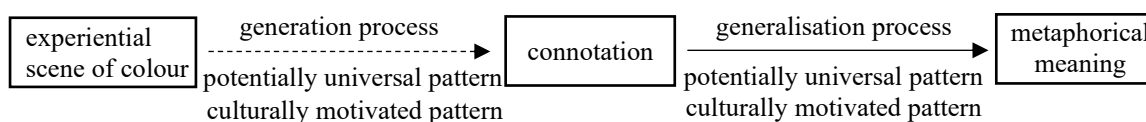
The Chinese BEIGE does not develop the metaphorical meanings. Thus, there are no metaphorical mappings of BEIGE motivated by metonymic bases.

In summary, it is shown that almost all the similarities between English and Chinese colour terms are motivated by shared metonymic bases, except for the same metaphorical meaning Femininity of *pink* and *fen(hong)(se)*. Culturally specific metonymic bases only motivate differences. Thus, the same metonymic bases are the premise of developing the same metaphorical meanings, and the different metonymic bases tend to develop different metaphorical meanings.

8.4 What are the factors that determine the similarities and differences

This section focuses on the reasons for the similarities and differences between English and Chinese colour metaphors by exploring the factors that influence the metaphorical conceptualisation of colour terms. The present research proposes that potentially universal patterns and culturally motivated patterns work on the generation process and generalisation process, which give rise to similarities and differences. Figure 8.5 shows two patterns in the two stages of the metaphorical conceptualisation model of colour terms:

Figure 8.5 Two patterns in the metaphorical conceptualisation model of colour terms



In the generation process (see definition in 8.1, Figure 8.3), potentially universal patterns and culturally motivated patterns are involved. The potentially universal pattern in the generation process is the universal element of human experiences based on basic cognitive abilities. It motivates the experiential scene relating to colour to generate the same connotations in English and Chinese. The culturally motivated pattern motivates experiential scenes relating colour to generate culturally specific connotations. In the generalisation process, the potentially universal pattern motivates the same conceptualisation that functions on a generic level (see 2.1.3) in metaphorical mapping. The culturally motivated pattern motivates the culturally specific conceptualisation in metaphorical mapping. It also influences the instantiations of the same metaphorical

mappings. The following sections explore how the similarities and differences are caused by two patterns working on the generation process and generalisation process.

8.4.1 discusses the reasons for the similarities by exploring the potentially universal pattern in the generation process and generalisation process. 8.4.2 discusses the reasons for the differences, which are explored by investigating the culturally motivated pattern in the generation process and generalisation process.

8.4.1 Similarity

According to the diachronic investigation, the connotations that develop into colour metaphors are divided into three types: (1) connotations of the metonymic bases, (2) cultural connotations of colours or (3) connotations related to the relationship with other colours. In other words, the three main motivations for colour metaphors are metonymic basis, cultural context and the relationship with other colours. The findings show that metaphorical meanings motivated by connotations of metonymic bases show similarities and differences between English and Chinese, but metaphorical meanings motivated by cultural context and the relationship with other colours only show differences.

This section discusses all the colour metaphors that are motivated by the metonymic bases to explore the reasons for the similarities. Each metaphorical meaning is expressed by the mapping between the target domain and the source domain of COLOUR. 8.4.1.1 and 8.4.1.2 show the potentially universal pattern in the generation process and generalisation process.

8.4.1.1 Potentially universal patterns in the generation process

To explore how potentially universal patterns work in the generation process, the metonymic bases and their connotations that give rise to the similarities are investigated. As Table 8.2 shows, almost all the similarities between English and Chinese colour metaphors are motivated by the same metonymic bases, except the metaphorical meaning of Femininity shared by *pink* and *fen(hong)(se)*, which is probably a coincidence. This finding suggests that the reasons for the similarities are related to the same metonymic bases. However, it should not be inferred that it is the same metonymic bases that give rise to the similarities because English and Chinese colour terms with the same metonymic bases also develop different metaphorical meanings. Thus, similarities (in bold format) are explored in the conceptualisation process of the same metonymic bases generating connotations, which is set out in Table 8.9.

Table 8.9 Similarity in connotations generated by the same metonymic bases

Colour	Metonymic basis	Same connotation	Culturally specific connotation	Colour term
GREEN	ecology	protection of the environment	–	<i>green, qing/lv</i>
	skin	emotion	health	<i>green</i>
			character	<i>qing/lv</i>
	plants	youth, vigour, immaturity, naturalness	rawness, newness	<i>green</i>
			east, spring, writing medium	<i>qing/lv</i>
	lights	permission	–	<i>green, qing/lv</i>
ROSY	skin	beauty	health	<i>rose/rosy</i>
			–	<i>meiguise</i>
	rose flower	beauty, positive feelings	–	<i>rose/rosy</i>
			romance	<i>meiguise</i>
PURPLE	dyes	high value	richness and luxury	<i>purple</i>
			–	<i>zi</i>
GOLDEN	sunshine	brightness and warmth	–	<i>gold(en), jin(se)</i>
	crops	harvesting grain for food	–	<i>gold(en), jin(se)</i>

Table 8.9 shows that the same metonymic bases motivate the same connotations and culturally specific connotations, the former of which are generalised to the same metaphorical meanings in English and Chinese. The potentially universal pattern is the universal element of human experiences based on basic cognitive abilities, so it motivates metonymic basis to have the same connotations. The culturally motivated pattern motivates cultural connotations.

For example, English and Chinese GREEN have the shared metonymic bases of plants. The potentially universal pattern in human experience motivates the metonymic bases to have the same connotation of youth (of plants), which is generalised into the same metaphorical meaning of Youth (of human beings). The culturally motivated pattern motivates Chinese GREEN's metonymic bases of plants to have the culturally specific connotations of east and spring that *green* does not and the differences in metaphorical meanings occur. The potentially universal pattern motivates the metonymic basis based on universal elements of human experience to have the same connotations, which give rise to the same metaphorical meanings. The potentially universal pattern is in contrast with the culturally motivated pattern because the potentially universal pattern indicates that the conceptualisation of the metonymy is cross-cultural. Without comparison, the experience of *green* indicating plants are young in the English-speaking community or Chinese-speaking community can be regarded as a solely cultural product. However, it is known that English and Chinese communities both have this experience, for example, both select the attribute of youth of

plants, and both develop the metaphorical meaning of Youth (of human beings). This suggests that this generation process is not (or not only) motivated by a culturally motivated pattern, but also by a potentially universal pattern caused by the universal elements of human experience based on basic cognitive mechanisms.

However, in most cases, the same metonymic basis motivates the same connotation because of the potentially universal pattern, but in some cases, the generation of the same connotation is because of the culturally motivated pattern. For example, English PURPLE and Chinese PURPLE with the same metonymic bases of purple dyes motivate the same connotation of high value due to culturally motivated patterns. *Purple* has the connotation of high value because of the enormous price of the purple dyes while *zi* has the same connotation because of complex cultural factors including the preference of the privileged class and its high status in Taoism. Although there is no obvious reason for *purple* and *zi* to have the same connotation of high value, they are both favoured by English and Chinese communities as dyes for clothing because of their vibrant and eye-catching properties, which may influence the generation of the connotation of high value to some extent.

Language interaction is another motivation for the same metonymic bases to have the same connotation. Language interaction means colour metaphors in one language influence the same metaphorical meanings in another language when the languages interact with each other as through translation. *Green* has the metaphorical meaning of Permission, which develops from the connotation of 'ready/go'. This connotation could derive from the metonymic bases of traffic lights or it could be a pre-existing meaning of *green*. It is largely a culturally motivated connotation. The introduction of traffic lights from the West to China motivated the corresponding 'ready/go' connotation of *lv* and thus the same metaphorical meaning of Permission occurs in *lv* as well. *Green* and *lv*'s similar metaphorical meanings of Environmentalism, Safety, Non-pollution and High Quality are also due to language interaction. *Meiguise* developed the same metaphorical meaning of Romance as *rose/rosy* after Western literature was introduced to China, and *rose*'s symbolic meaning of romance influenced *meiguise* to develop the metaphorical meaning of Romance.

In conclusion, the potentially universal pattern in the generation process motivates the same metonymic bases to have the same connotations that are generalised into the same metaphorical meanings in later stages. The culturally motivated pattern tends to cause the different connotations that develop into different metaphorical meanings.

8.4.1.2 Potentially universal pattern in the generalisation process

The premise of the similarities is the same metonymic bases. Then, motivated by the potentially universal patterns in human experience, the same metonymic bases of English and Chinese have the same connotations, which develop into the same metaphorical meanings. In terms of metaphorical mappings, the generalisation process is mapping the domain of the metonymic basis represented by the source domain COLOUR onto the target domains. The potentially universal pattern in metaphorical mappings motivates both English and Chinese COLOUR domain conceptualising the same target domains. The potentially universal pattern in metaphorical mappings is generic conceptualisation at a superordinate level that may contain some potentially universal elements. For example, *green* and *qing* have the same metonymic bases of plants, which generate the same connotations of youth of plants. The youth of plants is conceptualised to describe the youth of human beings, because of the generic conceptualisation LIFE STAGE OF PLANTS IS THE LIFE STAGE OF HUMAN BEINGS. Table 8.10 shows the metaphorical mappings of similarities to explore the generic conceptualisation.

Table 8.10 Metaphorical mappings of the same colour metaphors between English and Chinese

Domain of metonymic basis	Source domain	Target domain
1B06 BIOLOGY	GREEN1, GREEN2	→ 1G01 FOOD AND EATING (Safety, Non-pollution and High Quality)
	GREEN1, GREEN2	→ 3A06 SOCIAL COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE (Environmentalism)
1B09 THE HUMAN BODY	GREEN1, GREEN2	→ 2D01 EMOTION (Jealousy, Fear, Anger)
1F01 PLANTS	GREEN1, GREEN2	→ 1B03 AGE (Youth)
	GREEN1, GREEN2	→ 1M02 DURATION IN TIME (Vitality)
	GREEN1, GREEN2	→ 1O03 PREPARATION AND UNDERTAKING (Immaturity)
	GREEN1, GREEN2	→ 1O23 ABILITY (Inexperience)
	ROSY1, ROSY2, PINK1, PINK2	→ 2A26 EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION (Optimism)
	ROSY1, ROSY2	→ 2B12 BEAUTY AND UGLINESS (Beauty)
	ROSY1, ROSY2	→ 2C01 GOOD (Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness)
1J25 LIGHT	GOLDEN1, GOLDEN2	→ 2F05 OBTAINING (Harvest)
	GOLDEN1, GOLDEN2	→ 1O16 PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS (Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity)
1J34 COLOUR	PURPLE1, PURPLE2	→ 3A09 SOCIAL POSITION (Privilege)
3J02 TRANSPORT	GREEN1, GREEN2	→ 3D05 AUTHORITY, REBELLION AND FREEDOM (Permission)

As Table 8.10 shows, BIOLOGY represented by COLOUR is used to conceptualise FOOD AND EATING and SOCIAL COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE. This is based on the generic conceptualisation of PLANTS SYMBOLISING ENVIRONMENTALLY FRIENDLY. From the metaphorical mapping from COLOUR to FOOD AND EATING, the metonymic bases of BIOLOGY are plants, the COLOUR domain includes GREEN1 (*green*) and GREEN2 (*lv*), and the metaphorical meaning of FOOD AND EATING is Safety, Non-pollution and High Quality. *Green* develops this metaphorical meaning motivated by the metonymic bases of plants (see 4.1.5.7). *Lv* develops the same metaphorical meaning in the same way. From the metaphorical mapping from COLOUR to SOCIAL COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE, the metonymic basis of BIOLOGY is ecology, the COLOUR domain includes GREEN1 (*green*) and

GREEN2 (*lv*), and the metaphorical meaning of SOCIAL COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE is Environmentalism. *Green* develops this metaphorical meaning motivated by the metonymic basis of ecology (see 4.1.5.5).

For the similarities, THE HUMAN BODY represented by COLOUR is used to conceptualise EMOTION. THE HUMAN BODY represented by COLOUR is used to describe EMOTION based on the experience that human emotions often accompany the obvious occurrence of certain types of complexions. The generic conceptualisation is EMOTION IS THE ASSOCIATED COMPLEXION. Although Table 8.10 shows that GREEN1 and GREEN2 has a metaphorical mapping with emotion, culturally motivated patterns involved in the generalisation process motivates different emotions as the metaphorical meanings. *Green* is used to describe fear while *qing/lv* is used to describe anger. The same emotion is described by different colours (e.g. anger is described by *qing/lv* in Chinese while it is described by *purple* in English). Table 8.3 to Table 8.8 show that the metonymic basis of complexion is the motivation for *green*'s metaphorical meaning of Fear, *purple* and *qing/lv*'s shared metaphorical meaning of Anger, and *tao(hua)se*'s metaphorical meaning of Love Affair. In addition, THE HUMAN BODY represented by COLOUR is used to describe HEALTH based on the experience that skin colour often reflects the health condition of human beings. *Green* develops the metaphorical meaning of Ill Health because of its metonymic basis of complexion reflecting ill health according to our daily observation. On the contrary, *rose/rosy* develops the metaphorical meaning of Good Health because of its metonymic basis of rosy complexion reflecting good health.

PLANTS represented by COLOUR is used to conceptualise AGE, DURATION IN TIME, PREPARATION AND UNDERTAKING, ABILITY, EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION, BEAUTY AND UGLINESS, GOOD, OBTAINING in the same metaphorical meanings:

- a. Both English and Chinese GREEN representing the metonymic basis of PLANTS are used to conceptualise AGE. The generic conceptualisation is THE AGE OF PLANTS IS THE AGE OF HUMAN BEINGS. However, as 4.4 illustrates, *green* with the connotation of the youth of plants is directly mapped onto AGE while *qing* with the connotation of youth of plants could firstly be used to describe spring and then is mapped onto AGE (though *qing* could be directly mapped onto AGE as well).
- b. *Green* and *qing* both develop the metaphorical meaning of Vitality because of the shared metonymic bases of plants, which have the connotation of vigour. This

reveals the conceptualisation of THE QUALITY OF PLANTS IS THE QUALITY OF OTHER THINGS. There is also cultural variation here: the connotation of *green* is generalised into two target domains (DURATION IN TIME and MANNER OF ACTION). Rather, the connotation of *qing* is only generalised into the domain of DURATION IN TIME.

- c. Both English and Chinese GREEN representing PLANTS are used to conceptualise PREPARATION AND UNDERTAKING and ABILITY, which is based on the conceptualisation of THE QUALITY OF PLANTS IS THE QUALITY OF OTHER THINGS. Although *green* and *qing* have the same connotation of immaturity of plants, they develop different metaphorical meanings with this connotation. *Green* develops the metaphorical meanings of Rawness and Immaturity (see 4.1.6), while *qing* develops the metaphorical meaning of Immaturity (see 4.2.6). Also, the connotation of immaturity is mapped onto the domain of ABILITY and develops the metaphorical meaning of Inexperience.
- d. English and Chinese ROSY and Chinese PINK are used to describe EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION. The generic conceptualisation is POSITIVE FEELING OF PLANTS IS POSITIVE EXPECTATION. *Rose/rosy* and *meiguise* have the shared metonymic basis of rose flower, which generates the connotation of positive feelings. The connotation develops into the metaphorical meaning of Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness, and is then extended to the metaphorical meaning of Optimism. *Fen(hong)(se)* develops the metaphorical meaning of Optimism probably because the metonymic bases of flowers have positive connotations.
- e. English and Chinese ROSY is used to describe BEAUTY AND UGLINESS, GOOD. The same metaphorical meaning of Beauty is motivated by the same metonymic basis of rose, the flower. *Rose/rosy* and *meiguise* have the same connotation of beauty, which is generalised to the metaphorical meaning of Beauty in BEAUTY, motivated by the generic conceptualisation ATTRIBUTE OF PLANTS IS ATTRIBUTE OF OTHER THINGS. The similarity of Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness is motivated by the same metonymic basis of rose flower, which has the same connotation of positive feelings. The connotation is generalised to the metaphorical meaning of Enjoyment, Brightness and Hopefulness in GOOD. This generalisation is motivated by the generic conceptualisation FEELING OF PLANTS IS FEELINGS OF OTHERS.

- f. English and Chinese GOLDEN are used to conceptualise OBTAINING, revealing the generic conceptualisation OBTAINING CROPS IS GAINING. *Gold(en)* and *jin(se)* both develop the metaphorical meaning of Harvest, motivated by their shared metonymic bases of crops.

For the same metaphorical meanings, LIGHTS, COLOUR, and TRANSPORT represented by COLOUR are used to conceptualise PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS, SOCIAL CLASS, AUTHORITY, REBELLION AND FREEDOM respectively:

- g. LIGHT represented by COLOUR is used to describe PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS based on the experience that the brightness and warmth of sunshine give it an additional implication of happiness or well-being. The generic conceptualisation is SUNSHINE SYMBOLISES HAPPINESS. *Gold(en)* and *jin(se)* develop the metaphorical meaning of Time of Happiness, Well-being or Prosperity, motivated by the shared metonymic basis of sunshine.
- h. COLOUR (dyes) is used to conceptualise SOCIAL CLASS based on the experience that people in different social classes are regulated to or prefer to wear certain colours. The generic conceptualisation is WEARING A CERTAIN COLOUR SYMBOLISES SOCIAL CLASS. *Purple* and *zi* develop the same metaphorical meaning of Privilege because of the potentially universal pattern in the conceptualisation that motivates the same metonymic bases of purple dyes with the same connotation of high value to map onto the target domain SOCIAL CLASS. However, the generalisation process is also influenced by a culturally motivated pattern. For *purple*, the generalisation is: *purple* with the connotation of high value is used by the royal family and other privileged classes and then *purple* expresses the meaning of privilege without the metonymic bases. The generalisation of *zi* is: *zi* with the connotation of high value is used in the ribbon regulation of high-ranking officials so it symbolises the privilege without the metonymic basis. Thus, the generalisation process of *purple* and *zi* is influenced by both the potentially universal pattern and the culturally motivated pattern.
- i. TRANSPORT represented by COLOUR is used to conceptualise AUTHORITY, REBELLION AND FREEDOM based on the experience that traffic symbols indicate actions. The generic conceptualisation is AUTHORITY OF TRAFFIC LIGHTS IS VALIDATION OF

POLICIES. *Green* and *lv* develop the metaphorical meaning of Permission, motivated by traffic lights.

The premise for English and Chinese colour terms developing the same metaphorical meaning is having the same metonymic bases, which means the similarities are caused by the potentially universal pattern working on the same metonymic basis. If the metonymic bases are different, the metaphorical meanings are very likely to be different.

The potentially universal pattern conceptualises the same metonymic bases into the same connotations that develop into the same metaphorical meanings. For example, the attributes of plants, which are vigour, newness and youth, are conceptualised as the intrinsic connotations of plants characterised by the colour green. In this way, *green* and these connotations are associated in the experiential scene motivated by the metonymic bases of plants. *Qing* also has the etymological metonymy of plants. In the conceptualisation of the metonymic basis, the same attributes (youth, vigour) of plants are also conceptualised as connotations characterised by the colour. Thus, the same metaphorical meanings of Youth (of human beings) and Vitality are developed in both English and Chinese. The potentially universal pattern also drives the same cultural connotations. For instance, *purple* and *zi* with their metonymic bases of purple fabrics have the same cultural connotation of high value due to different cultural factors. The potentially universal conceptualisation of people of high status possessing valuable items and dressing to show their social status drives the same metaphorical mapping to the target domain of SOCIAL POSITION, so the connotation of high value is generalised into the same metaphorical meaning of Privilege in both English and Chinese.

Among colour metaphors, there is a special kind of metaphorical meaning which derives from the human body. The colours of the human body have the connotation of indicative health conditions based on the experience that different health conditions are often accompanied by different skin colours, which is particularly reflected in the skin colour being an important diagnostic symptom. This metonymic relationship could be generalised to metaphorical meanings because (1) the colour is used independently of its metonymic basis of skin, (2) the colours of the human body are not the real colours but are examples of type modification. For example, the so-called ‘green face’ or ‘rosy face’ does not refer to the prototypical green colour or rosy colour, but the greenish and reddish shown on the complexion, and (3) the colours are not indicative of the specific diseases (as a descriptive symptom) but a general health condition. For example, *green* referring to the general pale,

sick complexion metaphorically describes ill health. *Rose/rosy* which refer to the general reddish complexion metaphorically describe good health. The colours of the face have the connotations of indicative emotions. *Green* and *qing/lv* both develop the metaphorical meaning of emotions that derive from the metonymic basis of the face.

It is seen that the colour of the human body, especially the complexion, is likely to be mapped onto the domain of human emotion and human health conditions because emotions and health conditions affect complexion colours in both English and Chinese culture. This is the potentially universal pattern of intrinsic connotations of skin, which are likely to develop the same metaphorical meanings in English and Chinese. However, with the role of the culturally motivated pattern, *green* and *qing/lv* both develop metaphorical meanings of emotions but different emotions (*green* has the metaphorical meanings of Jealousy and Fear, while *qing/lv* has the metaphorical meaning of Anger). In addition, the similar processes of developing metaphorical meanings show the potential metaphorical meanings. Compared to *purple*, *zi* also shows the possibility of developing the metaphorical meaning of Anger in the same way *purple* developing this metaphorical sense.

Among all the same conceptualisation of metaphorical mappings, those that use the metonymic basis of the human body to conceptualise other concepts can be regarded as primary metaphors, specifically embodied metaphors. These metaphors are expected to contain the universal patterns because the experience of the human body probably is universal. The results find that those using the metonymic bases of plants, sunshine, dyes, traffic lights to conceptualise other concepts also contains potentially universal patterns, which shows that the experiential bases of the living environment may contain universal patterns which give rise to potential universal metaphors.

8.4.2 Differences

As Table 8.3 shows, culturally specific metonymic bases only develop different metaphorical meanings. This shows that culturally motivated patterns in human experience motivate different metonymic bases of English and Chinese colour terms. The different metonymic bases motivate culturally specific connotations that develop into different metaphorical meanings. Also, in the generation process of the same metonymic bases, the culturally motivated pattern in human experience tends to cause culturally specific connotations that develop into different metaphorical meanings.

Metaphorical meanings motivated by cultural context and relationship with other colours only show differences. These two motivations are largely influenced by cultural factors. Culturally motivated patterns motivate colours to associate with their culturally specific connotations that develop different metaphorical meanings. 8.4.2.1 and 8.4.2.2 show the culturally motivated pattern in the generation process and generalisation process, respectively.

8.4.2.1 Culturally motivated patterns in the generation process

The culturally motivated patterns in the generation process motivate the culturally specific connotations associated with colour, which develop into different metaphorical meanings. The findings show that in the generation process different metonymic bases and the same metonymic bases both motivate culturally specific connotations (see Table 8.10 in 8.4.1.1). Cultural contexts and relationship almost only motivate culturally specific connotations. These culturally specific connotations are generalised into domains and develop into different metaphorical meanings between English and Chinese.

8.4.2.2 Culturally motivated patterns in the generalisation process

This section presents the cultural motivated patterns in the generalisation process in terms of three main motivations. Firstly, metonymic bases motivate culturally specific connotations, which are generalised to distinct domains and develop into different metaphorical meanings between English and Chinese colour terms. Table 8.11 shows metaphorical mappings from English or Chinese COLOUR domain representing the domain of the metonymic basis to culturally specific target domains, which means all the metaphorical mappings are different colour metaphors between English and Chinese.

Table 8.11 Metaphorical mappings of different colour metaphors motivated by metonymic bases between English and Chinese

Domain of metonymic basis	Source domain	Target domain
1B09 THE HUMAN BODY	PURPLE1	→ 1B26 DEATH (Death)
	GREEN1, ROSY1	→ 1C01 HEALTH (Ill Health, Good Health)
	PEACHY1	→ 2B12 BEAUTY AND UGLINESS (Beauty of a Woman)
	PEACHY1	→ 2C01 GOOD (Excellence)
	GREEN2	→ 2C02 BAD (Eeriness)
	ROSE1, PURPLE1, PEACHY2	→ 2D01 EMOTION (Shyness/humility, Anger, Love Affair)
	PURPLE1	→ 3A08 SOCIAL ATTITUDES (Feminism)
1F01 PLANTS	GREEN2	→ 1L07 DIRECTION (East)
	GREEN2	→ 1M04 SEASON (Spring)
	GREEN1	→ 1M07 MEASUREMENT OF TIME AND RELATIVE TIME (Newness)
	GREEN1	→ 1O03 PREPARATION AND UNDERTAKING (Rawness)
	GREEN2	→ 1O07 COMPLETION (Completion)
	PURPLE2	→ 1O16 PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS (Beauty and Prosperity)
	GREEN1	→ 1O20 MANNER OF ACTION (Vitality)
	GREEN1	→ 2A13 LACK OF UNDERSTANDING (Naivety, Simpleton)
	ROSY2	→ 2D08 LOVE AND FRIENDSHIP (Romance)
	GREEN1	→ 3D03 POLITICS (Environmentalist Political Parties)
	GREEN2	→ 3M06 LITERATURE (History)
1G DRINKS AND DRINKING	GREEN2	→ 3F05 MORAL EVIL (Extravagant Life)
1J02 CHEMISTRY	GOLDEN2	→ 2B07 ESTEEM (High Reputation)
	GOLDEN1	→ 2M03 THE ARTS (Precious Language)
	GOLDEN2	→ 3H01 FAITH (Buddhism)
1J25 LIGHT	GOLDEN2	→ 2A26 EXPECTATION AND PREDICTION (Optimism)
1J34 COLOUR	PURPLE1	→ 1O16 PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS (Success)
	PURPLE1	→ 2C01 GOOD (Richness and Splendour)
2B12 BEAUTY AND UGLINESS	PINK2	→ 2B12 BEAUTY AND UGLINESS (Beauty)
	PINK2	→ 2D01 EMOTION (Romance)
3B02 BUILDINGS AND INHABITED PLACES	GREEN2	→ 3F01 MORALITY AND IMMORALITY (Brothel)
3M03 THE ARTS	GREEN2	→ 1P26 QUANTITY (Luxury and Rhetoric)

These differences in metaphorical mappings show how one language uses the domain of the metonymic basis represented by each COLOUR domain to conceptualise the target domains in its cultural contexts, which is different from the other language.

Secondly, some metaphorical meanings of COLOUR are motivated by cultural context. COLOUR is used to conceptualise the target domains. Table 8.12 shows the mapping between target domains and source domains, metaphorical meanings, and the motivation of cultural context. It is ordered by the target domains according to the semantic hierarchy sequence in MM. The fourth column shows different types of cultural contexts as motivations.

Table 8.12 Target domains and the motivation of cultural context

Target domain		Source domain	Metaphorical meaning	Motivation
1B04 BIOLOGICAL SEX	←	PINK1	Femininity	cultural traditions
1I06 SEXUAL RELATIONS	←	PINK1	Homosexuality	cultural event
1O16 PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS	←	PURPLE2	Auspiciousness	religious factors
1O22 BEHAVIOUR AND CONDUCT	←	BEIGE1	Naturalness	social value
1Q01 SUPERNATURAL	←	PURPLE2	Supernatural	religious factors
2B04 JUDGMENT	←	BEIGE1	Neutrality	social value
2C02 BAD	←	PURPLE2	Evil	social values
2D01 EMOTION	←	GREEN1	Jealousy	literature
	←	PURPLE1	Sin	religious factors
	←	BEIGE1	Boredom	social value
3A09 SOCIAL CLASS	←	GREEN2	High-ranking Status in Hierarchy Low-ranking Status in Hierarchy	cultural traditions cultural traditions
3F07 LICENTIOUSNESS	←	GREEN2	Adulterous Wife	cultural traditions
3M03 THE ARTS	←	PINK1	Pornography	language interaction

As Table 8.12 shows, there is no similarity of metaphorical meanings motivated by cultural context between English and Chinese, which is because cultural contexts are culturally specific. As the motivation column shows, the cultural contexts are divided into six types, which are cultural traditions, cultural event, religious factors, social values, literature and language interaction. Six examples of per motivation are discussed as follows:

- a. English PINK is used to conceptualise BIOLOGICAL SEX because of cultural traditions. *Pink* develops the metaphorical meaning of Femininity because *pink* is conventionally regarded as the colour of femininity for uncertain reasons. This cultural connotation of *pink* is a kind of cultural tradition.
- b. English GREEN is metaphorically used to describe Jealousy with uncertain reason, but this figurative usage is widely used after Shakespeare. This cultural connotation is motivated by the influence of literature.
- c. English PINK is used to describe SEXUAL RELATIONS because of a cultural event. *Pink* symbolising homosexuality may originate from the Nazis using a pink triangle to mark homosexuals in their concentration camps, which is regarded as a symbol of shame. This cultural connotation is from a cultural event.
- d. Chinese PURPLE is used to conceptualise PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS due to religious factors. *Zi* develops the metaphorical meaning of Auspiciousness because it is a high-status colour in Taoism. This cultural connotation results from religious factors.
- e. Chinese PURPLE is used to describe BAD because of social values. *Zi* develops the metaphorical meaning of Evil because Confucians thought it was an evil colour that threatened the privileged status of *chi*. This cultural connotation results from social values.
- f. Chinese ROSY is used to conceptualise EMOTION because of language interaction. *Meiguise* develops the metaphorical meaning of Romance because *rose*'s cultural connotation of love influenced *meigui* in a large number of English works which were introduced to China in the mid to late 20th century. Thus, *meiguise* develops the connotation of romance. This cultural connotation results from language interaction.

Thirdly, some metaphorical meanings of COLOUR are motivated by the relationship with other colours. COLOUR is used to conceptualise target domains. Table 8.13 shows the mapping between target domains and source domains, metaphorical meanings and the motivation of relationship with other colours. It is ordered by the target domains according to the semantic hierarchy sequence in MM.

Table 8.13 Target domains and the motivation of relationship with other colours

Target domain		Source domain	Metaphorical meaning	Motivation
1I06 SEXUAL RELATIONS	←	PURPLE1	Homosexuality	lavender
2B07 ESTEEM	←	PURPLE2	Fame	red
3D03 POLITICS	←	PURPLE1	Politics	red and blue
	←	PINK1	Politics	red
3M03 THE ARTS	←	PURPLE1	Pornographic Writing	blue

English PURPLE is used to conceptualise SEXUAL RELATIONS. *Purple* develops the metaphorical meaning of Homosexuality because of its relationship with lavender which is the symbolic colour of homosexuality. Chinese PURPLE is used to describe ATTENTION AND JUDGMENT. *Zi* develops the metaphorical meaning of Fame because bright *hong* and *zi* are very eye-catching colours, which is mapped onto famous people who gain the attention of the public. English PURPLE and PINK are used to conceptualise POLITICS. *Purple* develops the metaphorical meaning of Politics, because of its nature as a mixture of red and blue, *purple* designates a state that is politically moderate or centrist since it is one state where support for the Republican and Democratic parties is roughly equal among voters. *Pink* develops the metaphorical meaning of Politics. Because the degree of saturation of the colour pink is less than the degree of saturation of red, *pink* has a metaphorical meaning of a person whose political views are left of centre. English PURPLE is used to describe THE ARTS, to be specific, pornography due to their relationship with the colour blue. *Purple* develops the metaphorical meaning of Pornographic Writing because it is regarded as a deeper colour of blue which has the connotation of pornography.

It is assumed that the physiological attributes of colour terms could give rise to similarities because the relationships with colours seem to be objective and potentially universal, based on the physical properties of colours. For example, *purple* and *zi* both mix blue and red. However, the colour terms in this study do not prove this assumption. *Purple* and *zi* choose different relationships to develop metaphorical meanings. *Purple* develops the metaphorical meaning of Pornographic Writing because it is regarded as a deeper hue of blue, and since *blue* refers to having sexual content (especially in a joke, story or film etc.), *purple* metaphorically refers to more obscene content in writing. *Zi* develops the metaphorical meaning of Evil because it is regarded as a threat to the prestigious status of *hong* (red), so when it is used with *hong*, *zi* stands for evil and *hong* stands for goodness. Therefore, although the motivation of relationship with other colours is influenced by physiological factors, e.g. it is the universal elements of the physiology that make *purple*

and *pink* associated with colours red, blue and lavender, the metaphorical meanings motivated by the relationship are largely culturally specific.

8.4.3 The interaction of potentially universal patterns and culturally motivated patterns

This study finds that the potentially universal pattern and culturally motivated patterns usually interact in generation process and generalisation process, which means both may work on the development of similarities and differences. The similarities are attributed to potentially universal patterns and the differences are driven by culturally motivated patterns in the metaphorical development of colour terms.

The causes of the similarities and the differences are not solely related to potentially universal patterns or culturally motivated patterns because these two factors interact in the metaphorical development. On the one hand, although the potentially universal pattern makes it possible to have the same metaphorical meanings, it is the culturally motivated pattern that largely influences the derivation of specific metaphorical senses. For example, *green* and *qing* both develop the metaphorical meaning of Youth (of human beings) because the potentially universal pattern in human experience generates the same connotation of youth of plants characterised by the colour green, which is then generalised to the youth of human beings motivated by the potentially universal pattern LIFE STAGE OF PLANTS IS LIFE STAGE OF HUMAN BEINGS. However, *green* directly maps the connotation of youth of plants to humans, while *qing* with this connotation is firstly used to describe spring, and then spring, as a season characterised by newly sprouting green plants compared to other seasons, is used to describe the youth of human beings. On the other hand, the different metaphorical meanings might have the same generic conceptualisation. For example, with the same metonymic basis of skin and the same conceptualisation of SKIN COLOUR REPRESENTS EMOTION, *green* develops the metaphorical meanings of Jealousy and Fear, while *qing/lv* develops the metaphorical meaning of Anger. Thus, the reason for the similarities is that the potentially universal pattern plays a more significant role in the metaphorical development, while the reason for the differences is that different culturally motivated patterns play a dominant role in the metaphorical development.

8.5 Summary

This research diachronically investigates the metaphorical senses of eight pairs of English and Chinese colour terms. The diachronic research not only collects all the metaphorical

meanings of each colour term throughout history but also establishes the development and the motivation of each metaphorical meaning. Therefore, by summarising the development of all the colour terms in both English and Chinese, this study proposes that colour metaphors develop from connotations that are generated in the experiential scene in a process that moves from metonymy to metaphor. There are four stages in the process from metonymy to metaphor. In the early stage (Stage I) of the metaphorical development, colours are in literal use, and the connotations are implied by the colour. The connotations are generated because of metonymic basis, cultural context, or relationship with other colours. In this stage, the motivations (metonymic basis, cultural context, relationship with other colours) for the connotation are often explicit. In the transitional stage (Stage II), it is ambiguous whether the colour is literally used and the connotation is implied, or the colour is metaphorically used to express the connotation. In the late stages (Stage III, Stage IV), colour and metonymic basis are together used to express metaphorical meanings in Stage III. Colour is individually used to express the metaphorical meaning without metonymic basis, out of cultural context, without mentioning other colours in Stage IV.

The metaphorical conceptualisation is proposed based on the development. In the experiential scene motivated by metonymic basis, cultural context, or relationship with other colours, colours and some connotations are focused and experienced together on a regular basis. These co-occurrences develop into conceptual binding, which means the colour and the connotation are associated metonymically in the experiential scene relating to colour. Then, the colour and the connotations are generalised to distinct source/target domains outside of the metonymy scene. The colour domain as the source domain is used to describe the domains of the connotations as the target domains because of their associations in previous stages. After exploring metaphorical development and conceptualisation of each metaphorical meaning of English and Chinese colour terms, this research compares the development of English and Chinese colour metaphors.

The metaphorical development and conceptualisation of colour terms suggest that the three motivations for generating connotations associated with colour, which are metonymic basis, cultural context and relationship with other colours, are also the motivations for colour metaphors. By exploring the similarities and differences in each motivation, it is shown that almost all the same metaphorical meanings are motivated by metonymic bases with one exception, and the motivations of cultural contexts and relationships with other colours tend to give rise to differences. Thus, the reasons for the similarities are focused on the development of metaphorical meanings that are motivated by metonymic bases.

Among these metaphorical meanings, this study finds that all the same metaphorical meanings are motivated by shared metonymic bases. However, because the same metonymic bases also motivate different metaphorical meanings, the factors in the generation process and the generalisation process of the metaphorical development model are explored to find the reasons for the similarities and differences.

The present study proposes that the potentially universal patterns and culturally motivated patterns both work on the generation process and the generalisation process. The potentially universal pattern in human experience motivates the same metonymic bases to have the same connotations, and the potentially universal pattern in the conceptualisation of metaphorical mapping motivates the connotations to be generalised into the same target domains. In this way, English and Chinese colour terms develop the same metaphorical meanings. However, culturally motivated patterns also influence the development of the similarities, both in the generation process and the generalisation process. For example, *purple* and *zi* have the same metonymic bases of dyes and the same connotation of high value, but the generation of the connotation from the same metonymic bases is highly influenced by cultural motivated patterns rather than the potentially universal pattern. Another example is the metaphorical meaning of Youth shared by *green* and *qing*; they have the same metonymic bases of plants and the same connotation of youth because of the potentially universal pattern in human experience. Although the connotations are generalised into the target domains motivated by the same potentially universal pattern in conceptualisation of metaphorical mapping (the generic conceptualisation is LIFE STAGE OF PLANTS IS THE LIFE STAGE OF HUMAN BEINGS), the specific generalisation and the instantiation of them are different. *Green*'s connotation of youth is mapped onto the age domain directly, while *qing*'s connotation of youth is firstly used to describe spring and then mapped onto the age domain. In addition, the findings of potentially universal patterns in the same conceptualisation in the metaphorical mappings (using the metonymic bases of plants, sunshine, dyes, traffic lights to conceptualise other concepts) suggests that the experience of the living environment (apart from bodily experience) may also contain potentially universal patterns which give rise to potential universal metaphors.

The reason for the differences is that culturally motivated patterns largely influence each step of the metaphorical development. English and Chinese colour terms could have different metonymic bases, which develop different metaphorical meanings according to the findings in this study. In addition, the culturally motivated pattern in human experience could motivate the same metonymic bases to have culturally specific connotations

associated with colour, which develop into different metaphorical meanings. This is the reason why English and Chinese colour terms with the same metonymic bases develop different metaphorical meanings.

In conclusion, the similarities between the English and Chinese colour metaphors are attributed to the same connotations associated with colours being generalised into the same target domains. In most cases, the same connotations are motivated by the potentially universal pattern in human experience of the same metonymic bases. The same generalisation process is motivated by the potentially universal pattern in the conceptualisation of metaphorical mapping, which is expressed by generic conceptualisation. The differences result from the significant influence of culturally motivated patterns on every step of the metaphorical development including motivating different metonymic bases, culturally specific connotations, and culturally specific generalisation.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

This thesis has diachronically investigated and compared the metaphorical meanings of eight pairs of English and Chinese colour terms, based on both dictionary and corpus evidence. It aims to (1) investigate how colour terms develop metaphorical meanings in both languages, focusing on the process that moves from metonymy to metaphor, (2) compare English and Chinese colour metaphors, and (3) explore the role of the metonymic bases in the similarities and differences and the factors that give rise to the similarities and differences.

The results show that the metaphorical meanings of colour terms develop from the connotations that are associated with colours in the experiential scene, in a process that moves from metonymy to metaphor. In the experiential scene relating to colour, colours are associated with connotations, which are motivated by metonymic basis, cultural context or the relationship with other colours. Then, the connotations are generalised into a distinct domain outside of the experiential scene, which indicates they develop into metaphorical meanings. This process moves from metonymy (metonymic relationships in the experiential scene relating to colour) to metaphor (colour is the source domain and the distinct domain that the connotation is generalised into is the target domain). The comparison results show that English and Chinese colour terms with the same metonymic bases have both similarities and differences in metaphorical meanings, but those with different metonymic bases tend to develop different metaphorical meanings. The motivations of cultural context and relationship with other colours tend to motivate different metaphorical meanings. Almost all the similarities are motivated by the same metonymic bases, while the differences are motivated by all three motivations. This study suggests that the similarities are driven by the same metonymic bases, and the potentially universal pattern both in the generation process (which motivates the same connotations) and in the generalisation process (which motivates the shared generic conceptualisation of metaphorical mappings). The differences result from the culturally specific pattern both in the generation process (which motivates culturally specific connotations) and in the generalisation process (which motivates culturally specific metaphorical mappings).

This thesis compares English and Chinese colour metaphors and analyses the similarities and differences in the metaphorical development and metaphorical conceptualisation.

Three main contributions of the present study are as follows:

Firstly, this thesis proposes the models of the metaphorical development and the metaphorical conceptualisation of colour terms. These two models clarify how colour terms develop metaphorical meanings in historical language evidence and how the concept of colour is used to describe other concepts in the cognitive aspect. Because colour metaphors are correlation metaphors, the generation of colour metaphors also sheds light on how correlation metaphors are developed, especially how the metonymic relationship arises in the experiential basis and how metonymy and metaphor interact in the process of the development.

Secondly, this thesis finds some potentially universal patterns in the generation process due to the same experience and in the generalisation process because of the shared generic conceptualisation of colour metaphors, which give rise to the similarities between English and Chinese colour metaphors. This study explores the potentially universal experience of our physical environment, which is paid little attention on previous studies relating to universal metaphors.

Thirdly, this thesis compares English and Chinese colour metaphors in the metaphorical development and conceptualisation, which contributes to exploring the interplay of the potentially universal patterns and the culturally motivated patterns in each step of the metaphorical conceptualisation. This is different from previous studies that acknowledge both the universal conceptualisation and the cultural factors but do not unravel the specific role of each.

This thesis also endorses the efficiency of the corpus-based and diachronic method for the comparison between English and Chinese colour metaphors. The corpus-based and diachronic method establishes the metaphorical development of colour metaphors by providing language evidence in four different stages of metaphorical development. In addition, the corpus evidence could indicate the motivations for the colour metaphors in the contexts. The diachronic investigation of the metaphorical development reveals the metaphorical conceptualisation of colour terms, through which it is seen that each step in the development process is motivated by diverse factors. The potentially universal pattern in human experience and conceptualisation of metaphorical mappings gives rise to the same metaphorical meanings while the culturally motivated pattern in them gives rise to the different metaphorical meanings. Also, the similarities have cultural variations in the metaphorical development, and the differences may also be influenced by potentially universal patterns to a lesser degree. In addition, corpora also evidence some metaphorical

meanings that are not shown in the OED, HTE, TOE and MM and connotations that have the potential to develop into metaphorical meanings.

9.1 Limitations

Some limitations of the present study need to be acknowledged. Firstly, this thesis is qualitative research. The historical corpora of both English and Chinese are not balanced. The language evidence for OE, ME, EModE, OC, MC and EModC is relatively less than for LModE and LModC. The investigation of English and Chinese colour metaphors in early historical periods is not comprehensive due to the constraints of corpus evidence, so this study also consults the dictionary evidence and previous studies to explore the information of etymologies and motivations. Secondly, this thesis uses OED, HTE, TOE and MM as the dictionary evidence of English colour metaphors, but there is no equivalent dictionary evidence for investigating Chinese colour metaphors. Thus, the investigation of Chinese colour metaphors relies on the corpus evidence. That is, the comparison of English and Chinese colour metaphors is not based on the equivalent dictionary evidence. Thirdly, the comparison of two languages can limitedly suggest universality in the development of colour metaphors, so this thesis terms the shared pattern in English and Chinese as the potentially universal pattern.

9.2 Direction for future research

A possible area of future research would be investigating colour metaphors in more languages to contribute to exploring potentially universal patterns and cultural variations in developing colour metaphors and their similarities and differences. Also, with more historical language evidence and with balanced corpora, the results of the development of colour metaphors can be more comprehensive and representative. Furthermore, the present investigation was not specifically designed to evaluate factors of different genres, which contributes to revealing some underlying motivations for colour metaphors.

Linguistic resources

A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers July 2019 – beta version 2:

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A Thesaurus of Old English. 2017. Glasgow: University of Glasgow.

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Center for Chinese Linguistics at Peking University corpus:

http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl_corpus/

Corpus of Late Modern English Texts, version 3.1:

<http://fedora.clarin-d.uni-saarland.de/clmet/clmet.html>

Early English Books Online (V2): https://cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk/eebo_v2/

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